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ABSTRACT

A variety of anthropological perspectives on multiculturalism in formal education are provided in five papers and three commentaries. Countering the traditional anthropological view that each society has only one culture, the first paper emphasizes the multicultural nature of all societies. Four divergent approaches to the conceptualization of multicultural education are analyzed in the second paper. An alternative approach is suggested which, unlike the others, does not equate education with formal schooling or view multicultural education as a type of formal educational program. The third paper discusses the concepts of culture, cultural groups, and cultural scenes within school settings and points out the discrepancies between an anthropological conception of culture and the educational policy issues currently arising from multicultural school programs. The fourth paper analyzes the role of multicultural education in equalizing educational opportunity in a culturally pluralistic society. The final paper focuses on multicultural education as a type of applied anthropology and argues that multicultural education programs cannot be devised apart from the specific communities they are intended to serve. The three commentaries point out various difficulties of maintaining ethnic and cultural identity in multicultural education, and they identify problems in providing multicultural education within the formal structure of the school. Professional news, information on teaching anthropology at the college level, publication reviews, and a membership survey of reader interests are included. (Author/DB)

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NTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

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[Ed. Note: As special editor of this issue of the CAE *Quarterly* I wish to thank the editor, Dr. J. H. Chilcott, and the editorial staff of the *Quarterly* for providing the opportunity to present these papers. They are a result of the symposium "Toward a Definition of Multi-culturalism in Education" organized by Carlson and Gibson at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in San Francisco, California, 1975. The papers and the commentaries, which provide a variety of views on the topic of multi-cultural education, will, hopefully, serve to generate further discussion of the issues raised.]

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, and at all levels of education, there has been an increasing push for bi-cultural and multi-cultural education programs. New programs have been implemented. Existing programs have been expanded. Yet lacking are comparable efforts to define concepts or discuss issues relating to multi-cultural education. To help meet this need, the following papers and commentaries provide a variety of perspectives on the meaning of multi-culturalism in the formal education system.

The multi-cultural education phenomenon in the United States resulted from minority group pressure for equal educational opportunities together with their rejection of cultural and genetic "deficit explanations" of minority students' school failure.[1] Alternative multi-cultural models, based on an acceptance and respect for cultural differences, have replaced the earlier deficit models. With the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 and of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act in 1972, federal support for the development and implementation of new programs has greatly increased.

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The current scope and impact of the multi-cultural education phenomenon can be illustrated by the range of federal and state laws and policies which alone pertain to bi-cultural and multi-cultural education. By 1973, for example, four states—Massachusetts, Texas, Illinois, and New Jersey—had passed mandatory bilingual laws, three of which call for the inclusion of bi-cultural studies as well. Also by 1973, 13 states had passed laws mandating the inclusion of ethnic studies in curriculums and 25 had formal policy statements on ethnic studies. In 1974, the Supreme Court affirmed in *Lau vs. Nichols* that school districts must provide special language programs for children who speak little or no English. The new laws and policies have generated a rapid expansion of programs which fall under the general heading of multi-cultural education.[2]

Within any new program area, time is needed to clarify concepts, define assumptions, and discuss issues. However, as time goes on, the vagueness of terms and assumptions appears to be increasing. If this trend continues, multi-cultural education runs the danger of being discarded as yet another in the long list of slogans that have lost their emotional or political appeal. If, instead, we wish to move multi-cultural education from the realm of emotion-raising slogan to that of a practical concept for educational policy decisions, we must become more precise about the phenomenon to which the concept refers.

All multi-cultural education programs have been influenced, at least indirectly, by the anthropological concept of culture, but many programs over-simplify or even misunderstand the meaning of the concept. To redress this situation, the papers in this issue articulate anthropological perspectives on the meaning of multi-culturalism and multi-cultural education. Such perspectives provide alternative frameworks for understanding multi-culturalism in education and for influencing the future course of the multi-cultural education phenomenon.

The opening paper by Ward Goodenough counters the traditional anthropological view that for each society there is one culture, and shifts our focus instead to the multi-cultural nature of all societies. Insofar as all

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individuals find they must attribute different expectations to different sets of people, they live in a multi-cultural world. To the degree that individuals acquire the competencies needed to interact effectively with sets of people whose cultures differ, they themselves become multi-cultural. Since the distribution of power within any society is related to the distribution of cultural knowledge and skills, Goodenough suggests that we must look more closely at how schools manipulate access to specialized microcultures and thus access to power and privilege.

Because of the political implications of multiculturalism in education, it is hardly surprising that we find little consensus among the proponents of multicultural education regarding program goals and clientele. The divergent approaches to the conceptualization of multi-cultural education is the focus of the paper by Margaret Gibson. She analyzes four existing approaches to multi-cultural education and suggests that each suffers from equating education with formal schooling and culture with the culture of an ethnic group. As an alternative, Gibson suggests a fifth approach which builds upon Goodenough's (1971) conception of culture and provides one basis for overcoming conceptual weaknesses within the other four approaches.

The focus of the third paper, by Theodora St. Lawrence and John Singleton, is the social context of multi-cultural education. The paper discusses the concepts of culture, cultural groups, and cultural scenes within school settings, and points out the discrepancies between an anthropological conception of culture and the educational policy issues currently arising out of multi-cultural school programs. These issues, St. Lawrence and Singleton note, are structural, not cultural, but are symbolized by cultural labels. Pointing to the influence of applied anthropology on recent reformulations of the culture concept, the authors suggest a parallel between the call for multi-cultural education programs in the United States and the application of social and technical assitance programs overseas. Once again, we are brought back to the relationship between multi-cultural education and the distribution of power and privilege. And, once again, we are asked to consider the role of schools in dispensing those cultural competencies necessary for individual mobility within and across national boundaries.

In their paper, John Hourihan and Dexter Chapin analyze the role of multi-cultural education in equalizing educational opportunity in a culturally pluralistic society. Hourihan and Chapin believe that, contrary to their stated aims, current strategies for equalizing opportunities through multi-cultural education programs may actually perpetuate the political and economic domination of subordinate ethnic groups. The authors urge that the focus of such school programs be the individual rather than the groups, and that the principal goal be the individual's development of multi-cultural competencies. Like the others, this paper leads us to consider the political implications of multi-cultural education.

Paul Carlson, in the final paper, focuses on multicultural education as a type of applied anthropology, and argues that multi-cultural education programs cannot be devised apart from the specific communities they are intended to serve. Diverging from the political perspective reflected in the other papers, Carlson cautions that we must not lose sight of those cultural differences which present genuine impediments to classroom learning. To alleviate the cultural conflict and misunderstanding which inhibit productive classroom interaction, Carlson recommends that teachers be trained, in the tradition of anthropology, to operate as participant-observers in their students' home communities.

In the first commentary, Susan Philips points to the dangers of emphasizing in multi-cultural education programs the individual's mobility and access to power at the expense of maintaining ethnic identity and culture. Noting the policy implications of the various conceptualizations of multi-cultural education, Philips warns that if choices have to be made between individual access to power and group identity, it is the minorities themselves who should make the decisions.

Like Philips, Diane Lewis cautions us not to ignore those cultural difference which, in fact, do impede classroom learning, nor to overemphasize individual needs and differences to the exclusion of group needs and differences. In reviewing the several conceptions of multi-cultural education, Lewis urges us to focus on the constraints which inequality imposes on the acquisition of competence and suggests that cultural pluralism holds the most promise for overcoming inequality and promoting minority multi-culturalism.

In the final commentary, Jacquetta Hill-Burnett points to an organizational dilemma emerging from the papers—that is, that the informal nature in which cultural competence is acquired is countermanded by the formal structure of the school, the very entity responsible for promoting multi-cultural education. Further, Hill-Burnett notes that the key to power is not individual competence but, rather, who has the authority to judge competence. This leads her to the paradox of multi-cultural school programs—their potential for reinforcing the very conditions of inequality which they seek to alleviate.

The value of the following papers is not that they resolve issues regarding the school's role in dealing with the multiple cultural experience of our student population but, as Hill-Burnett concludes, that they present for public scrutiny the paradoxes and dilemmas of multicultural education which might otherwise remain undiscussed.

Notes

1. For a discussion of the fallacies of the deficit explanations, *see* Baratz and Baratz, 1969, 1970; Leacock, 1971; Valentine, 1968, 1971.

2. For a fuller discussion of state and federal laws pertaining to multi-cultural education, *see* Seifer, 1973, and the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1975.

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MULTICULTURALISM AS THE NORMAL HUMAN EXPERIENCE

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Anthropologists traditionally have acted on the assumption that most societies are not multi-cultural, that for each society there is one culture. They have seen multi-cultural societies as developing only in the wake of urbanism, economic specialization, social stratification, and conquest states.

The view of culture that characterizes societies or sub-societies as wholes is appropriate to problems that involve comparing societies as organized human systems, or that call for the classification of societies according to one or another taxonomic scheme. For these purposes, minor cultural differences from household to household (such as reported for the Navajo by Roberts, 1951) or even from village to village can often be conveniently ignored. But such a macro-view of culture, if I may call it that, is inappropriate for the theory of culture, for any theory of something necessarily considers the processes of which that something is a product and that accounts for the way it changes over time. If by culture we have reference to the understandings about things and the expectations of one another that the members of a society seem to share, then a theory of culture requires us to consider the processes by which the individual members arrive at such sharing. In this regard, the differences among individuals, their misunderstandings, the different ways of doing things family to family and village to village, all become noteworthy.

When we look at process, then, we no longer look at societies only as wholes, but at individual people as learners of culture in the context of social interaction, as they pursue their various interests and try to deal with their various problems of living—problems that involve the necessity of choosing among conflicting goals, competing wants, and long-range as against short-range concerns. From the standpoint of process, multiculturalism is no longer a feature of complex societies alone but, as we shall see, is to be found in simple societies as well. To say this is not to deny that multi-culturalism is playing an increasingly prominent role in the affairs of complex societies, but that the difference between complex and simple societies in this regard is one of degree and not of kind.

Culture is learned, we anthropologists have always properly insisted. From the learner's point of view, the need is to learn what the expectations are in terms of which others act. The understanding arrived at regarding the expectations of parents are tried out on other adults. In the absence of feedback to the contrary, one assumes that these others have the same expectations as one's parents. Thus, one comes to attribute concepts, beliefs, and principles of action uniformly to a set of other people, finding that for one's own practical purposes one can successfully do so. What is thus attributed to that set of others becomes the culture of that set. I use the word "culture" advisedly here, for in anthropological practice the culture of any society is made of the concepts, beliefs, and principles of action and organization that an ethnographer has found could be attributed successfully to the members of that society in the context of dealing with them.

From this point of view, the sharing of culture by the members of a group is a matter of attribution. The apparent validity of this attribution is measured by its practical utility for dealing effectively with members of the group in particular situations. The process is that of stereotyping. The very limited purposes and situations in which a plantation manager in the Solomon Islands interacts with his Melanesian workers may result in very crude stereotyping of them by him and of him by them, stereotyping that serves its very limited purposes but is found entirely wanting when the bases for interaction are expanded. Good ethnography requires putting the ethnographer's stereotypes to tests that are similar, or at least equivalent, to those by which the society's members test the adequacy of their individual stereotypes of their fellow members.

What does all this have to do with multi-culturalism? In the learning process, people inevitably find that they cannot generalize the same expectations onto everyone. Children learn that the expectations of their parents and other adults are not the same in many respects as the expectations of their playmates. They find that the expectations of their mother and their father's sister are different, and so on. There are different role-expectations that go with different social relationships and social situations. Each of these different expectations constitutes a different culture to be learned. Because such cultures are situation-bound, and thus ordered with respect to other situation-bound cultures, we may choose to think of them as sub-cultures or micro-cultures, reserving the term "culture" for the larger, ordered system of which these are a part; in this sense, culture ceases to refer to a generic phenomenon of study and refers instead only to some level of organization of that phenomenon. From a theoretical viewpoint, the process of learning a society's culture, or macro-culture, as I would rather call it, is one of learning a number of different or partially different micro-cultures and their sub-cultural variants, and how to discern the situations in which they are appropriate and the kinds of others to whom to attribute them.

All human beings, then, live in what for them is a multi-cultural world, in which they are aware of different sets of others to whom different cultural attributions must be made, and of different contexts in which the different cultures of which they are aware are expected to be operative. Their competence in any one of these is indicated by their ability to interact effectively on its terms with others who are acknowledged as already competent. Everyone develops varying degrees of multi-cultural competence in at least some micro-cultures. Inter-societal contacts make at least some people minimally competent in some aspects of different macro-cultures as well. The range of cultural diversity increases in complex societies, where multi-cultural competence at the macro-cultural, as well as the micro-cultural, level may play an important role in the conduct of affairs and in differential access to privilege and power. I shall come back to this in a moment. Before I do, I wish to summarize what I have been implying in the preceding discussion of culture by observing that it is analytically and conceptually useful to distinguish among the following: (1) culture as a phenomenon, arising out of learning, in the context of interaction, the expectations people attribute to others; akin to Mead's (1934) concept of the "generalized other." (2) the specific micro- or macro-cultures individuals attribute to specific sets of others as the ones that are appropriately operative in social situations; (3) the range of variance in what the individual members of an interaction network or group attribute to the membership of the network or group as the group's culture; (4) the number of such interaction networks and groups in a social unit under consideration, the degree to which they overlap in membership or come together in larger networks or groups, and the subject matter with respect to which they function as networks or groups; and (5) the total range of knowledge of, and competence in, various micro-cultures and macro-cultures that is possessed by the members of a given social unit, whether or not they are appropriately operative in interactions within that unit, and that compose what can be called the "cultural pool" or "reservoir" of the membership of that unit (Goodenough, 1971).

Of obvious interest for the study of continuity and change are the specific processes by which the variance in cultural attributions individuals make to their network or group is kept within workable bounds (see no. 3). Whatever these processes are, they clearly have to do with the rates and kinds of interaction that take place among members of the network or group. Of interest, too, are the processes by which an element in a group's cultural pool (see no. 5) gains or loses status as part of a specific micro-culture that is expected to be operative in some context (see no. 2). Also of interest are the processes that increase or reduce the number of networks or groups within a society (see no. 4) and that affect the extent of overlap in their memberships. All of these processes involve people pursuing their various and competing interests, a consideration that brings us back to privilege and power.

Real social power, as distinct from jural authority, is a function of two variables. One variable is the extent and intensity of people's wants, and the other is the extent to which people are in a position to facilitate or impede the gratification of one another's wants. If nothing matters to me, even whether I live or die or whether I am free of pain, then no one is in a position to affect my behavior and no one has any social power in relation to me. If, on the other hand, others are unable to gratify any of their wants without my cooperation, then I have enormous power in relation to them. In no human society is real social power ever evenly distributed. The greater dependency of the young, the old, the sick, and the infirm on others for the gratification of their wants, and the relative lack of dependency of others on them, guarantee unequal power relationships everywhere. Such inequalities are compounded by individual differences in knowledge and skills and in physical and personal attractiveness. The cultural definition of jural relationships and the different rights and duties that attach to different social identities in their dealings with one another inevitably reflect these inequalities in real power, and also reflect the kinds of trade-offs that people in their past dealings have been able to achieve as the basis for present cultural expectations.

Among the resources to which access is of paramount importance in power relationships are the various micro-cultures that make up a macro-cultural system. Growth in the number of specialized skills and bodies of knowledge produces more power in the social system to be distributed and managed and expands the possibilities for inequalities in power. The amount of power in a social field of relationships, it seems, increases directly as the complexity of the field increases, and its management becomes a problem of increasing importance and difficulty for the people involved.

Even in the relatively uncomplicated societies of Melanesia and Micronesia, with which I am personally familiar, control of specialized forms of knowledge is perceived as a source of social power generally and of political power in particular. Validation of claims to land and political office rests on a public display of a kind of knowledge that only those in line of succession are given access to. For those not in line of succession to aspire to such knowledge is to presume to what they are not entitled. I suspect it was no accident that, in 1964, in the little community of Romonum on Truk in Micronesia, all four of the salaried government positions under the American administration (medical assistant, local judge, school principal, and teacher) were monopolized by the highest ranking men in the two chiefly lineages. Even more significant was the fact that no one but children of chiefly rank had qualified for education beyond the elementary level in accordance with an apparently impartially administered examination system. Access to the kinds of alien cultural knowledge and skills which the schools afforded seems to have been perceived, like access to important forms of traditional knowledge, as appropriate for persons of high social rank and inappropriate for those without it. I don't think this was a matter of which they were necessarily conscious, but that it resulted largely from what they felt somehow to be appropriate to their own sense of social self.

If the management of social power includes the manipulation of access to knowledge and skills, the obvious targets of such manipulation are the conditions necessary for acquiring knowledge and skills. These may be briefly summarized as (1) mental and physical aptitudes needed to develop the indicated skills and to acquire the necessary level of comprehension; (2) a perception of self and of goals that make developing the skills and acquiring the comprehension seem appropriate or desirable; (3) freedom from emotional blocks in relation to the skills and knowledge in question (partly related to no. 2 above); and (4) access to situations in which there is opportunity to rehearse the skills and work at getting the knowledge, as well as opportunity to get helpful feedback (guidance) until proficiency is achieved.

In complex societies, the great number of micro- and even the macro-cultures they compose are inevitably the subject matter of social and political manipulation. Access to the cultures and sub-cultures in which competence must be demonstrated to establish eligibility for positions of privilege becomes a major matter to which social organization is geared, and is at the same time a prime target for political maneuvering. The social rules that serve to control such access, usually multiple and mutually reinforcing, also become a prime target for reform in times of change, with a resultant change in personal aspirations, as we are currently witnessing in connection with women's liberation and education for minorities.

The problems of multi-culturalism in education, then, arise as aspects of the processes I have been discussing, as does human concern with them. Multi-culturalism is present to some degree in every human society. Differential access to and knowledge of the various micro-cultures in macro-cultural systems is a significant aspect of power relationships in all societies. As multi-culturalism becomes more pronounced and elaborated, and the field of power becomes greater with increasing social complexity, multi-culturalism becomes an ever more important consideration in the management of power relationships and, as such, an ever more serious problem in the politics of education, whose institutions are the instruments by which people control access to more specialized micro-cultures and to the power and privilege they confer.

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APPROACHES TO MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: SOME CONCEPTS AND ASSUMPTIONS

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to analyze several existing approaches to the conceptualization of multicultural education within the United States in an effort to increase conceptual clarity and to make explicit a number of assumptions which underlie each conceptualization. Specifically, I shall present five approaches to multi-cultural education. For each of the first four, all programmatic, I shall delineate basic assumptions regarding underlying values, change strategies, intended outcomes, and target populations. The fifth conceptualization stems from an anthropological perspective on both education and culture and, unlike the others, does not equate education with schooling or view multi-cultural education as a type of formal educational program.

To systematize the alternative approaches to conceptualizing multi-cultural education, I have reviewed the educational literature pertaining to bilingual/bicultural education, education for pluralism, ethnic studies, and multi-cultural education, and have delineated the assumptions of those agencies and individuals who are advocating support for such programs. The literature is drawn largely from the publications of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the articles found in the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) of the U.S. Office of Education. My analysis of the several approaches and the assumptions underlying them stems primarily from the anthropological literature on cultural pluralism, ethnicity, and acculturation.

The five approaches I have distinguished overlap and interrelate, but for purposes of analysis I discuss each separately. Contrasts among the first four can most readily be seen in terms of their differing objectives. For this reason, I begin the discussion of each with a statement of purpose. I then present the conditions which gave rise to the approach, the major proponents of the approach, and the underlying assumptions regarding values, strategies, outcomes, and target populations. I conclude each section with a discussion of the assumptions. The following summary briefly gives the statements of purpose for approaches one through four and provides a title for each approach. (1) *Education of the Culturally Different or Benevolent Multi-culturalism*—The purpose of multi-cultural education is to equalize educational opportunities for culturally different students. (2) *Education about Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding*—The purpose of multi-cultural education is to teach students to value cultural differences, to understand the meaning of the culture concept, and to accept others' right to be different. (3) *Education for Cultural Pluralism*—The purpose of multi-cultural education is to preserve and to extend cultural pluralism in American society. (4) *Bicultural Education*—The purpose of multi-cultural (or bicultural) education is to produce learners who have competencies in and can operate successfully in two different cultures.

Approach One: Education of the Culturally Different or Benevolent Multi-culturalism.[1]

The purpose of the first approach to multi-cultural education is to equalize educational opportunity for culturally different students. The conditions giving rise to this approach are, first, the continuing academic failure of students from a certain minority ethnic group whose school performance continues to lag behind national norms, and second, the rejection of cultural and genetic deficit hypotheses regarding students' school failure. The most frequent proponents of this approach are concerned members of the educational establishment who reject the compensatory remedies, such as Head Start, which grew out of the deficit hypotheses, and who view multi-cultural education as a more viable strategy for decreasing the disparity in school achievement between mainstream and minority youth.

The key assumptions underlying the first approach are that culturally different children face unique learning handicaps in schools dominated by mainstream values; that to remedy this situation multi-cultural education programs must be devised which will increase home/school cultural compatability; and that these new programs will, in turn, increase students' academic success. The target populations for this approach are the children from certain minority ethnic groups who lag furthest behind national norms on school performance. These children are labelled culturally different because they share only peripherally in the mainstream culture.

The assumptions that either individual or organizational proponents have regarding the values, strategies, outcomes, and target populations of Approach One are detailed below.

Assumptions regarding values: (1) There are fundamental and important differences between mainstream (i.e., middle-class Anglo-American) culture and minority ethnic groups' cultures. (2) Public schooling in the United States is dominated by mainstream culture (Forbes, 1969; Johnson, 1971; Zintz, 1971). (3) Given one and two, there exists a discordance between home and school culture for children from minority ethnic groups. Hence these children are called "culturally different" because their home culture differs markedly from mainstream culture. (4) This discordance causes special learning handicaps for the culturally different student (Cordasco et al., 1970; Greenberg, 1968). (5) American public education should provide equal educational opportunities to all children. Advocates of the first approach are generally interpreting equal to mean equal benefit from as well as equal access to educational opportunity (Mazon and Arcineago, 1974). (6) It is the school, not the child or the child's home culture, which must be altered to promote equal opportunity.

Assumptions regarding strategies: (1) Educational programs must be devised and implemented which will decrease home and school discordance or, put positively, will increase the compatability between home and school environments. (2) Multi-cultural education is one strategy for increasing home and school compatability.

Assumption regarding outcomes: The increased home and school compatability brought about by multi-cultural education will result in increased learning and greater academic success for the culturally different student.

Assumptions regarding target population: (1) It is the children from certain minority ethnic groups who lag furthest behind national norms on school performance. (2) Therefore, it is these groups of children, e.g., Puerto Rican, Native American, or Black American, who are most in need of and can benefit most from multi-cultural education.

Discussion. This approach, which I have titled "benevolent multi-culturalism," differs fundamentally from those which equate "cultural difference" with "cultural deficit." Like the cultural deficit approach, it recognizes the poor performance of certain minority group students (Jencks, 1972; Coleman, 1966), but it is an attempt to go beyond the faulty assumptions which formed the basis for early childhood intervention programs such as Head Start (Baratz and Baratz, 1969, 1970; Valentine, 1971). Multi-cultural education in this view avoids the assumptions of those compensatory programs which deny cultural differences, assume a pathology of the home environment, and attempt to change children, their language, and even their parents' patterns of childrearing. It rejects the assumptions of those programs that presume the difficulties children encounter in school result from their disadvantaged upbringing, and instead recognizes that the school represents for these children an alien culture. Proponents of this first approach to multi-cultural education view the American public school system as having been built on a homogeneous model of society which all too often has demended that students conform to this model to benefit from school programs (Johnson, 1971). Instead of demanding school conformity, the proponents of benevolent multi-culturalism propose, as an alternative, educational programs which will address the special needs of the culturally different, i.e., those who are peripheral members of the mainstream culture and whose primary social performance is in some other cultural unit (Sanday, 1970). The strength of this approach, labelled the Cultural Difference Model by Lee and Groper (1974), is that it

> ***helps to identify functional cultural differences and to place them in meaningful context. Thus, variations in customs are defined as ecologically coherent rather than exotic phenomena. This would presumably modulate one culture's effort to change key aspects of another culture. The Cultural Difference Model assumes no hierarchy of cultures; on the contrary, it assumes parity among cultures.***

While the first approach to multi-cultural education appears to have overcome some of the weaknesses of the cultural deficit approach, it, too, contains major shortcomings. First, it accepts without question that cultural differences are the cause of minority groups' failure in mainstream schools, and it assumes that multi-cultural education is a viable solution to the problem of past failure. Yet, as Pettigrew (1974) noted at a recent American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) conference on multi-cultural education, "There is no empirical evidence that the development of a multi-cultural school system has any direct relationship to minority pupils' achievements." To support their claims for multi-cultural education, proponents of the first approach will need to establish a clear relationship between school success and multi-cultural education programs.

The second major shortcoming relates to the assumed parity resulting from multi-cultural education. Unfortunately, parity among cultural groups is unlikely to result. The Cultural Difference Model can all too easily be collapsed into a deficit model if one cultural group is dominant and also seeks to impose its "own norms of cultural practice as standards for both cultures" (Lee and Groper, 1974). Although the Cultural Difference Model is not viewed by its proponents as compensatory, it in fact runs the danger of becoming yet another addition to the list of unsuccessful compensatory strategies. For it is still conceived of as a special program for special groups of students (the culturally different) to compensate for past learning deficits. The collapsing of cultural differences into cultural deficits is often unintentional. For example, while stating that multi-cultural education was not be viewed as a special program for minority children, the recent AACTE conference on multi-cultural education was structured to focus on the "educational problems and situations of Black Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, and Native Americans" (Hunter, 1974). The conference included as one of its chief purposes the identification of "competencies needed by teachers to teach culturally different youth," and stated as one basic assumption that "there are certain unique competencies needed by teachers who teach culturally different children" (Hunter, 1974). That some members of the conference strongly reject a benevolent approach to multi-cultural education is highlighted by the following comments:

> *There is no substantial difference between the competencies needed to teach Black Americans and those needed to teach everyone. To say that there are unique competencies needed by teachers of Black Americans. . . is antithetical to the concept of multi-cultural education. The notion that the CBTE [competency-based teacher education] process is particularly beneficial to Black Americans and other minority groups represents a perpetuation of the patronizing and condescending attitudes that characterize minority education. Such a notion implies that minority-group children are different with respect to their ability to attain the desired competencies and are, as implied before, inferior to their fellow students* (James et al., 1974).

The sentiments of those who find this first approach "patronizing and condescending" may be summed up in one further comment:

> *"Benevolent multi-culturalism" says that oppressed groups are being given help and have little to offer a helper. Nothing could be further from the truth. As Freire suggests, it is vital to both the helper and the person being helped that a "dialog" be established* (Hilliard, 1974).

In using benevolent multi-culturalism as the title for approach one, I wish to emphasize the paternalistic aspects of this approach. For, as Freire (1970) notes, "Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression."

Approach Two: Education About Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding

The second approach differs from benevolent multiculturalism in that its target population is all students: all need to learn about cultural differences. Further, its focus is education about cultural differences rather than education for the so-called culturally different. In this case, the purpose of multi-cultural education is to teach students to value cultural differences, to understand the meaning of the culture concept, and to accept others' right to be different. Such an approach is an outgrowth of the struggles of various ethnic groups in the United States to confirm their ethnic identities and the insistent demands by these groups that schools become more sensitive to cultural differences and modify school curricula to reflect more accurately their concerns (Seifer, 1973: Wynn, 1974).

The demands for education about cultural differences came first from those groups most oppressed by and least assimilated into the American mainstream (what Ogbu calls subordinate minorities).[2] More recently, however, the movement has been taken up by white Americans of southern and central European descent (Ogbu calls these immigrant minorities) to counterbalance demands for black and other minority studies (Laubenfels, 1971: Driscoll, 1972; Seifer, 1973). And, in response to these demands, federal, state, and local educational agencies, as well as colleges of teacher education, have fostered the development of ethnic studies programs (Congressional Record, 1972: James, 1971).

The key assumptions underlying this approach are that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all students, that multi-cultural education programs will provide such enrichment by fostering understanding and acceptance of cultural differences, and that these programs will in turn decrease racism and prejudice and increase social justice. The assumptions underlying Approach Two are given below.

Assumptions regarding values (See AACTE, 1973: James et al., 1974; Banks, 1974; Seifer, 1973): (1) America is a culturally diverse nation. (2) Cultural diversity is a positive force in the development of the American society and a valuable resource to be preserved. (3) Cultural diversity is so basic to the life of our nation that it must become an integral part of our educational process at all levels. (4) Educational institutions to date have not reflected the nation's cultural diversity in school programs. (5) Schools in the future should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all students through programs which positively endorse cultural differences and foster an appreciation and acceptance of the differences.

Assumptions regarding strategies: (1) Formal educational programs can be developed which preserve cultural diversity. (2) "Multi-cultural education values differences" (James et al., 1974). (3) Multi-cultural education is a "dramatic response to the debilitating effects" of monoculturalism and ethnocentrism (James et al., 1974). (4) Multi-cultural education means "learning about various cultural groups" (Hilliard, 1974). (5) Although there is a large intersection between ethnic studies and multi-cultural education, "multi-cultural education differs from ethnic studies because its methods or teaching strategies can be employed in all disciplines rather than being limited to social studies" (James et al., 1974).

Assumptions regarding outcomes: (1) Educational institutions play a major role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of the nation's youth (AACTE, 1973). (2) Multi-cultural education will result in increased teacher and student understanding of cultural differences, respect for these differences, and acceptance of others' right to be different (AACTE, 1973). (3) Multi-cultural education will produce students who feel pride in their heritage and value a multi-cultural society (Title VII, 1973). (4) Multi-cultural education will decrease racism and prejudice. (5) Multi-cultural education will increase social justice by giving a fairer share to minority groups through increasing their participation in the academic process (Banks, 1974; Smalley, 1973). (6) Multi-cultural education will increase students' ability to live and work in a culturally diverse society (Wynn, 1974).

Assumptions regarding target population: (1) All students need to learn about cultural differences and deserve the opportunity to benefit from multi-cultural education (Baty, 1972; Zintz, 1971). (2) Therefore, multi-cultural education programs should be provided to all students, mainstream and majority alike.

Discussion. Most people find little argument with the intended outcomes of Approach Two, i.e., cultural sensitivity, respect for cultural differences, fuller and more accurate understanding of our nation's heritage, increased social justice, a reduction of prejudice and discrimination, preparation for life in a heterogeneous society. The major shortcomings of this approach stem from its unintended outcomes and from the expectation that the goals can be achieved from within the traditional educational system. In connection with the first inadequacy, Pettigrew (1974) notes that

> *multi-culturalism focuses its concepts on behavioral differences exclusively rather than on both similarities between and among all segments of the society. To continue to focus on differences is perhaps to continue subtly to support the inferiority-superiority hypotheses while at the same time postulating an acceptance on a level of parity of differential behavior manifestations from all cultures. There is an inherent conflict in this approach since it tends to reinforce the seldom verbalized, but currently accepted, belief that ethnic minority pupils cannot manifest an achievement level equal to that of majority of white pupils. At the same time, it proposes that all cultural values and their resultant behaviors are equal. At worst, such a conflict will inevitably promote the continuation of teacher training practices which behaviorally reinforce negative attitudes about ethnic minority children. At best, it will increase the patriarchial condescending view of ethnic minority persons that exists in America today.*

Similarly, Garcia (1974) signals the danger of categorizing the Chicanos or any ethnic group as a "monolithic entity possessing uniform, discernable traits." Garcia goes on to observe that multi-cultural education appeals to our urge to "categorize and classify, to sort and pigeonhole." The literature of multi-cultural education alludes to

> *Chicano culture as if it were a set of values and customs possessed by all who are categorized as Chicanos or Mexican Americans. . . . This fallacy serves to create the new stereotype which is found in the completion of the statement, "Mexican American children are . . . "*

Both Pettigrew and Garcia point to potential unintended outcomes of multi-cultural education, on the one hand ignoring similarities among all groups and on the other hand neglecting differences within any one group. In her recent article on positive stereotyping in the classroom, Kleinfeld (1975) examines the effects of teacher stereotyping on Indian students and points to their bases in teachers' misinterpretation of anthropological theory. Kleinfeld notes that the "ethnocentric teacher" is becoming a rare specimen and that the new type of teacher could be named the "cultural relativist." This teacher admires "Indian culture, at least in its aboriginal form." This teacher's "emphasis on differences between Indians and Whites often creates unease among Indian students and reinforces their fears of being peculiar and strange." This teacher, while overtly praising a romanticized version of Indian culture, conveys messages which too frequently are patronizing and demeaning. Further,

> *the cultural relativist teachers tend to view any deviant behavior of an Indian or Eskimo student as an expression of his culture which they should be very hesitant about trying to change.*
>
> *These teachers' concern about cultural differences results in a pervasive anxiety and uncertainty in dealing with students. . . . [T]he cultural relativist teachers cannot transmit to Indian students an underlying sense of meaning or of purpose in what they are teaching. . . . It is as if the teachers had decided that "You are Indian and I am White, and there is nothing about us that is alike."*
>
> *In short, the new breed of teacher emerging in the cross-cultural classroom is as "racist" (in the dictionary definition of the word) as the older type. Both . . . assume that social traits and capacities are determined by race, that races differ radically from one another, and that one race is superior. But, while the ethnocentric teacher views such racial differences as deficiencies to be corrected, the cultural relativist views them as assets to be cultivated.*

The dangers to which Kleinfeld and others point have import for multi-cultural education programs in general and do not apply exclusively to approach two. As noted earlier, the several approaches are interrelated and overlapping. So, too, are their shortcomings and the issues they generate.

The second weakness of this approach is that it presumes to change the existing social order from within the established educational system. There is no particular reason to assume that courses directed toward "ethnic literacy" (Banks, 1974) and cultural appreciation will halt prejudice and discrimination or solve the fundamental problem of inequity. Yet, as indicated already, these are indeed part of the agenda of those who advocate approach two.

> *For some educators, multi-cultural education is simply a matter of infusing regular school content with material which deals with . . . cultural appreciation. This is a very limited perspective and will contribute little to the solution of the fundamental problem of inequity. The main reason is that it leaves out consideration of individual and institutional racism or other prejudice as part of the foundation for victimization* (Hilliard, 1974).

Newman (1973) draws a distinction between social and sociological problems and points out that prejudice and discrimination are problems of both types:

> *Social problems are situations in which dislocations, pain, and suffering exist for society at large or for groups and individuals in society. . . . Sociological problems are those that concern the structures, processes, and conditions under which events occur in society.*
>
> *Prejudice and discrimination represent both social and sociological problems. They are the source of immense human pain and suffering. They have also been the focus of much social scientific research, theorizing, controversy, and puzzlement.*

Employing Newman's distinction, we see that the cultural understanding approach to multi-cultural education attempts to treat a social problem without attending also to the sociological problems. It is concerned with social ills but fails to analyze the structures which cause them. Newman analyzes the variables of prejudice and discrimination in relationship to two other sets of variables, reward parity/deprivation and social integration/segregation. His typology indicates the interrelationships between the latter two sets of variables and both prejudice and discrimination. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss Newman's sociological analysis in detail, his conclusions speak to the weaknesses of multi-cultural understanding as a strategy for increasing social justice:

> *If prejudice and discrimination are to be understood and combatted, the sociology of majority-minority relationships must pay greater attention to the majority side of the coin. For while it is useful to know the consequences of prejudice and discrimination for minority groups, changing the situation requires an equally clear understanding of how majority groups maintain their taken-for-granted view of social structure.*

The next approach to multi-cultural education can be viewed as one attempt to change this taken-for-granted social order.

Approach Three: **Education for Cultural Pluralism**

From the perspective of those who advocate the third approach, the purpose of multi-cultural education is to preserve and extend cultural pluralism in American society. Multi-cultural education for cultural pluralism is the hardest approach to depict, even as an abstract, ideal-type construct. Cultural pluralism, like multi-cultural education, is a term that "everybody understands in a general sort of way but few people care to define precisely" (R. Smith, 1961). For some, it is an ideal toward which social action should be directed. Itzkoff (1970) describes a philosophy of "equalitarian pluralism" as "an approach to social organization . . . and as a possible guide to the future." Others use cultural pluralism simply as a synonym for cultural diversity. For still others, it is a concept with an analytical function. Anthropologists have used the term as a tool to differentiate among various types of multi-ethnic societies. In anthropology, the concept has been used most frequently in connection with social stratification theory to analyze relationships among ethnic groups in former colonial countries and to distinguish a plural society from the homogeneous or heterogeneous society (M. Smith, 1965; Rubin, 1960; Despres, 1968; Benedict, 1962). And, finally, cultural pluralism has entered the literature of inter-group relations in the United States as a theory to explain aspects of ethnic group relations and the assimilation process (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordan, 1964; Schermerhorn, 1970; Newman, 1973).

It might be possible, though not necessarily profitable, to typologize all the varying approaches to cultural pluralism and their implications for or applications to the educational process. As this is a paper addressed to multi-cultural education, I shall attempt no such exercise and, instead, will focus my discussion of cultural pluralism on the current usage of the term in the educational literature on multi-cultural education.

Most generally, as Sanday (1972) indicates, educators equate pluralism with heterogeneity. In this case, cultural pluralism can hardly be viewed as a third approach to multi-cultural education. Rather, it is incorporated in either or both of the first two approaches to multi-cultural education (benevolent multi-culturalism and cultural understanding). However, some proponents of the cultural pluralism approach see pluralism as a particular type of structural arrangement which multi-cultural education should attempt to foster, preserve, and even extend. It is this latter sense of pluralism which the following discussion addresses.

Education for cultural pluralism stems from the rejection by ethnic minorities of majority-enforced acculturation and assimilation and from their rejection of an American "melting pot," both in theory and in practice. Proponents of this approach assume that neither cultural assimilation nor cultural fusion (the melting pot notion) are acceptable as ultimate societal goals because they have led in practice to Anglo-American domination and, in some cases, oppression. Proponents further assume (1) that the maintenance of cultural diversity is critical to the survival of particular groups, (2) that schools should seek to preserve and extend cultural pluralism through school programs (AACTE, 1973), and (3) that such programs will increase the power of minority groups, thereby promoting the necessary climate for academic success and alleviating the critical problems of racism and oppression.

The programs are intended to serve the needs of the children from the specific ethnic groups proposing them. There is, however, another more long-range target population for this approach, that is, the majority or mainstream group which has promoted the coercive assimilation ideal and caused the ideal of the melting pot to become little more than another form of majority conformity. Education for cultural pluralism seeks to increase reward parity among groups by decreasing the power of the majority. The proponents of the third approach are the subordinate minority groups who feel most oppressed by the mainstream majority. The assumptions upon which the cultural pluralism approach is based are listed below.

Assumptions regarding values: (1) Neither assimilation nor separatism are acceptable as ultimate societal goals (Laosa, 1974; AACTE, 1973). (2) Fusion (the melting pot notion) is not an attainable nor necessarily desirable goal. Melting pot ideals have in practice fostered Anglo-American domination leading to neglect—and in some cases, oppression—of certain culturally different groups (Laosa, 1974). (3) Cultural pluralism is an antidote to racism in the American society (Seda-Bonilla, 1973). (4) The maintenance of cultural diversity is critical to the survival of particular groups and the basic tenets of a democratic society (James et al., 1974). (5) Schools should not seek to melt away cultural differences (AACTE, 1973). (6) Schools should seek to preserve and extend cultural pluralism through school programs (AACTE, 1973).

Assumptions regarding strategies: (1) Multi-cultural education programs will arrest the processes of assimilation and fusion. (2) Multi-cultural education programs will preserve and extend cultural pluralism. (3) Multicultural education programs will increase minority group power, including decision-making power, over the educational forces which impinge upon the lives of minority group students (Davies, 1974; Hilliard, 1974).

Assumptions regarding outcomes: (1) Motivation for learning and academic success are related to decision-making and other types of power over the educational process. (2) As education for cultural pluralism increases the power of minority groups, it will provide minority students with the necessary climate for learning and academic success (Hilliard, 1974). (3) Racism and oppression in schools are related to the locus of power in American education. (4) As education for cultural pluralism increases the power of minority groups, it will alleviate the critical problems of racism and oppression (James et al., 1974).

Assumptions regarding target population: (1) It is the majority or mainstream group which has promoted the coercive assimilation ideal and caused the ideal of the melting pot to become little more than another form of majority conformity. (2) It is the majority which has denied parity to various minority groups. (3) The majority, therefore, is the ultimate target of the cultural pluralism approach. Education for cultural pluralism seeks to increase reward parity among groups by decreasing the power of the majority.

Discussion. The difficulties underlying the cultural pluralism approach stem from a confusion of ideology and theory. As noted above, the impetus for cultural pluralism was the rejection of both assimilation and fusion. To support education for cultural pluralism is to support an ideal, and to reject assimilation and fusion is to reject them as ideals. This, unfortunately, has little to do with whether the propositions that utilize these concepts are valid or have implications for understanding or changing formal schooling. Assimilation, fusion, and pluralism may all be viewed as results of the acculturation process (Hackenberg, 1962). "Acculturation is a broad process defined as change in formerly autonomous cultures that come into contact.' 'Assimilation, a more specific process, consists of structural and organizational absorption of formerly autonomous institutions or members of one society by another.' Fusion is 'the combination of distinctive culture traits into new complexes" (Walker, 1972). When two cultures maintain some degree of autonomy, usually developing parallel institutions, a situation of "stabilized pluralism" will occur. Some have viewed this to result from acculturation, when fusion is arrested or assimilation incomplete (Barnett et al., 1954).

Newman (1973) expresses the meaning of these concepts in simple formulas: (1) assimilation: $A + B + C = A$, where A, B, and C represent different social groups and A represents the dominant group. (2) fusion: $A + B + C = D$, where A, B, and C represent different social groups and D represents a distinct new group. (3) pluralism: $A + B + C = A + B + C$, where A, B, and C represent different social groups that over time maintain their own unique identities. Cultural pluralism is frequently seen as a "peaceful coexistence between groups" (Newman, 1973).

The difficulty with this presentation is that assimilation, fusion, and pluralism should not be viewed as the only consequences of culture contact. Each of the formulas assumes a linear approach to the acculturation process which is inadequate on a number of counts (Lebra, 1972; Newman, 1973), for certain cultural elements may be replaced, others fused, and still others maintained. Further, culture contact may result in "biculturation," Polgar's (1960) label for concurrent socialization in two or more cultures. Approach four deals with this possibility.

Even if we accept cultural pluralism as an adequate description of the arrangement of various groups in American society, I believe that education for cultural pluralism is fundamentally different from multi-cultural education and needs to be distinguished from it. Education for cultural pluralism is actually a strategy for the extension of ethnic groups' sociopolitical interests. For cultural pluralism to exist in a complex society such as ours, structural pluralism must also exist. At least some levels of primary group relationships must remain separated, such as clubs, churches, or schools (Gordon, 1964; Newman, 1973). Only in this way can the group preserve its identity. As Barth (1969) has indicated, boundary maintenance, not cultural similarities and differences, is the key to the continuity of an ethnic group. Like Barth, Cohen (1969) points to the importance of boundary maintenance and sees ethnic groups as essentially social and political rather than cultural. Traditional customs are used as idioms and as mechanisms for group alignment. They serve to form the boundary and to maintain the group's exclusiveness. Ethnic groups call upon their cultural distinctiveness, not out of conservatism or traditionalism but rather as a tool for maximizing group interests. The degree to which a group emphasizes or de-emphasizes cultural differences is determined by the degree of profit to be gained.

While any full treatment of ethnicity and education lies well beyond the purpose of this paper, at a minimum it would require the application of social theory regarding majority-minority relations (Schermerhorn, 1970; Newman, 1973) to the educational process. One such application is R. G. Paulston's (1975) examination of "the changing ethnic context of educational programs for Swedish *Same*, or Lapps." Paulston concludes that

> *the Lappish movement's efforts to institutionalize their ideology in educational programs . . . presents a noteworthy example of the conditions under which education can contribute to cultural and social-change efforts. The* Same *case, along with the occurrence of closely comparable ethnic-revival movements and consequent attempts to innovate new educational programs as resistance to acculturation among indigenous people in Canada and the United States present rich opportunities for comparative studies on the little-examined but increasingly important phenomena of education in*

> *ethnic-revival movements. . . . Although such educational innovations may have only limited potential to advance manifest movement goals, they are nevertheless often highly valued by movement adherents as alternatives to schooling dominated by the superordinate ideology.*

Along these same lines, but in connection with bilingual education, C. B. Paulston (1974) points out that

> *In societies when ethnic groups—who have sufficient power to enforce it—want to maintain their language in a situation of rapid language shift toward another language, they typically take measures to protect their language by legal measures. This is what happened in Belgium where bilingual education was outlawed, and it is what is happening in Canada. At present there are pressure groups which are urging the Quebec provincial government not only to preserve but to strengthen the position of the French language.*

Bilingual education tends to promote assimilation into the mainstream, because it demands education in the national language as well as in the native language. This occurs in spite of bilingual education's stated goals of language maintenance (Kjolseth, 1972). Ethnic groups wishing to preserve ethnic distinctions and to prevent cultural assimilation are thus rejecting bilingual education and pushing for education in their native language and culture alone.

In the face of mainstream domination, an ethnic group may use education for cultural pluralism as a political strategy to preserve the life of the group and to promote group interests. The strategy is discussed under the rhetoric of cultural tradition and, indeed, cultural tradition and cultural symbols are critical to group cohesion and boundary maintenance. Here in the United States we see Black Muslims or certain groups of Native Americans resisting the goals of multi-cultural education because they believe that separate schools are at this time a better strategy for increasing group power. While accepting that education for cultural pluralism may be an effective strategy for furthering ethnic interests, it needs, I believe, to be distinguished separately from the other approaches to multi-cultural education. Education for cultural pluralism seeks to create and preserve boundaries between groups, while multi-cultural education, by every other definition, seeks to promote at least some sort of competence in operating across cultural and ethnic boundaries.

As mentioned above, the fourth approach focuses on biculturation, or biculturalism. Like Approach Three, it can be analyzed in terms of acculturation theory. But, unlike the third approach, its focus is the individual rather than the ethnic group.

Approach Four: Bicultural Education

In this case, the purpose of multi-cultural (or bicultural) education is to produce learners who have competencies in and can operate successfully in two different cultures. The term bicultural education is used most frequently in conjunction with bilingual education programs. Many, if not all, of these programs contain elements of the three approaches presented thus far. They seek to foster or maintain pride in the native culture, to develop a fuller understanding of one's heritage and traditions, to strengthen identity, to increase motivation and academic success, to reduce prejudice and discrimination, to increase educational opportunities and social justice, and so forth. When attached to bilingual programs, bicultural or multicultural education programs are obviously also aimed at developing language competence. My purpose here is not to review the field of bilingual bicultural education (for an overall discussion, see Anderssen and Boyer, 1970; Saville and Troike, 1971; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975), nor is it to repeat the discussion pertaining to the first three approaches. Rather, I shall focus on the key aspect of bicultural education which distinguishes it from the other approaches; that is, its concern with fostering biculturalism. Even with this limitation, the variation in approaches is too great to address adequately. For example, some programs are transitional in purpose, others seek to maintain home language and culture, and still others may be viewed as restorationist (Gonzalez, 1975). Indeed, one can draw parallels between benevolent multi-culturalism and the transitional approach, and similarly between cultural pluralism and either the maintenance or restorationist approaches. The presentation which follows addresses biculturalism only as a general educational goal and does not attend to the varying reasons bicultural education programs are supported.

Like education for cultural pluralism, bicultural education is an outgrowth of minority groups' rejection of both majority enforced assimilation and of the melting pot ideal. Proponents assume that one's "native" culture (including language) ought to be maintained and preserved and that the "mainstream" culture (if different than the native culture) ought to be acquired as an alternative or "second" culture. Further, supporters believe that students whose native culture is the mainstream culture will also profit from the acquisition of competencies in a second culture. Bicultural education programs are seen as the avenue for providing instruction in two cultures. Unlike the benevolent multi-culturalism approach, proponents of Approach Four view multicultural education as a reciprocal process, advocating bicultural education programs, at least ideally, for all students.

Since it is difficult to practice, if not in theory, to divorce bicultural education from bilingual education, the most frequent proponents of this approach are also the proponents of bilingual education, that is, minority groups whose mother tongue is not English. The bicultural approach has also been advocated in connection with the need to teach Standard English as a second dialect to speakers of other dialects. A more detailed list of the assumptions underlying Approach Four is presented below.

Assumptions regarding values: (1) One's "native" culture (including language) ought to be maintained and preserved. (2) The "mainstream" culture (if different than the native culture) ought to be acquired as an alternative or "second" culture. (3) Students whose native culture is the mainstream culture will also profit from the acquisition of competencies in a second culture.

Assumptions regarding strategies: (1) Just as it is possible to provide instruction in two languages, so, too, is it possible to provide instruction in two cultures. (2) Bicultural education is a strategy for providing instruction in two cultures. (3) Bicultural education, as an approach to formal instruction, parallels and is adapted from the methods and techniques of bilingual education.

Assumptions regarding outcomes: (1) Bicultural education will enhance a student's ability to function in both the native culture and the mainstream culture (or mainstream and a second culture for the mainstream child). (2) Competencies in a second culture will be acquired without rejection of the student's native culture. (3) Bicultural education will lead ultimately to full participation for non-mainstream and mainstream youth alike in the socioeconomic opportunities which this nation offers (Trueba, 1974).

Assumptions regarding target population: (1) Bicultural education is a reciprocal process. (2) If bicultural education were recommended only for those students whose mother tongue is other than English (i.e., the national language), it would collapse into a compensatory program for the culturally different. (3) Therefore, bicultural education is aimed, at least ideally, at all students; all students will benefit from competencies in two cultures.

Discussion. Like the cultural pluralism approach, the bicultural education approach rejects both assimilation and fusion. But it overcomes the weakness of viewing acculturation as a linear process resulting in complete assimilation or fusion, or in stabilized pluralism (Polgar, 1960; Newman, 1973). Rather, it sees that acculturation can (and program proponents say should) result in biculturalism, thereby permitting dual participation in cultural systems (Spicer, 1961). Unlike assimilation, fusion, and pluralism, biculturation need not involve change in the cultural systems themselves. The focus is on the individual, not on the group, and as bicultural research has demonstrated, competence in a new culture need not require rejection of the old culture (Polgar, 1960; McFee, 1968). Thus a "multilineal" model is used to describe "concurrent socialization in two or more cultures" (Polgar, 1960).

The shortcomings of the bicultural education approach to multi-cultural education result from its application of biculturalism theory to educational practice. First, in actual practice it runs the danger of equating culture with a language or ethnic group, for example, Chicanos, Chicano culture. I have already addressed this danger in connection with the cultural understanding approach. Second, it tends to over-emphasize ethnic identity, running the risk of preventing students from choosing to emphasize other identities. Third, it tends to see bilingual bicultural education as a panacea for all social and educational ills. For a discussion of the ambiguities and contraditions among bilingual education findings alone and the questions they raise, see C. B. Paulston (1974, 1975). There have been no comparable efforts to assess on a comparative basis the results of bicultural education, and indeed it will not be possible to do so until terms are operationalized and relationships specified. Even individual case studies of bilingual bicultural programs have generally neglected the bicultural component and focused solely on language outcomes. One exception is Erickson's (1969) evaluation of the Navajo community school at Rough Rock and the BIA school at Rock Point. And, finally, a fourth weakness with the bicultural education approach—and also with the other three approaches—is that it tends to equate education with formal school instruction and to presume that the school is responsible or should take responsibility for the child's "socialization in two or more cultures." This is not to say that the school has no responsibility for socialization. Rather, teachers and other educational personnel must recognize that formal schooling is but one part of education and, thus, but one avenue to the acquisition of multi-cultural competencies.

Preliminary Summary

To summarize the discussion thus far, I have suggested that the literature on multi-cultural education lacks clarity with regard to key concepts and abounds with untested and sometimes unsupportable assumptions regarding goals, strategies, and outcomes. As a method for organizing the range of approaches, I have provided four admittedly interrelated and overlapping ideal-type program conceptualizations. The first is basically compensatory and views students' cultural differences as best attended to through special programs for the culturally different within mainstream dominated schools. The second approach is aimed at cultural understanding for all students and is a response to ethnic groups' pressure for a fairer representation in school curricula and programs of their heritage and place in American history and society. The third approach may be similar in content to the first but differs in one basic regard—instead of being a majority-group program for minorities, it is a minority strategy for minority students and seeks a more equitable distribution of power over formal educational programs and processes. Like the third, the fourth approach rejects enforced assimilation, but rather than tending toward separation as a strategy for group preservation, it seeks to produce a student who is able to operate successfully across group boundaries.

All four approaches tend to equate education with schooling and to overlook the educational processes occurring outside of school. All of the approaches include among their goals increased social justice yet, with the exception of education for cultural pluralism, they tend to overlook the larger socio-political context of formal education. For each of these approaches I have suggested several major shortcomings. In doing so, I do not intend to negate the value of ongoing multi-cultural education programs, but wish to emphasize the need for greater conceptual clarity, which in turn will enhance our ability to test underlying assumptions and to evaluate program success. The following is a summary of the analysis of approaches one through four with regard to (1) major proponents, (2) conditions giving rise to each approach, (3) underlying values, (4) target populations, and (5) intended outcomes.

Benevolent Multi-culturalism: *Proponents:* Mainstream educators. *Precondition:* Rejection of cultural and genetic deficit models. *Underlying Value:* Compatability of home and school cultures. *Target Population:* Culturally different students. *Intended Outcomes:* Equity in educational benefits.

Cultural Understanding: *Proponents:* (1) Subordinate minorities, (2) Immigrant minorities, (3) Mainstream educators. *Precondition:* Immigrant minorities' demands for ethnic studies (to counter-balance subordinate minorities' demands). *Underlying Value:* Cultural understanding and cultural relativity. *Target Population:* All students. *Intended Outcomes:* Respect and acceptance of others' right to be different.

Cultural Pluralism: *Proponents:* Subordinate minorities. *Precondition:* Rejection of majority enforced cultural assimilation. *Underlying Value:* Preservation and extension of ethnic groups. *Target Population:* Subordinate minority-group students. *Intended Outcomes:* Increased power for minority groups.

Bicultural Education: *Proponents:* Non-English mother tongue minorities. *Precondition:* Rejection of majority enforced cultural assimilation. *Underlying Value:* Reciprocal learning. *Target Population:* All students. *Intended Outcomes:* Bicultural competencies.

Approach Five: Multi-cultural Education as the Normal Human Experience[3]

As stated at the paper's outset, the fifth concept differs in several basic regards from the other four. The first four approaches are derived from the educational literature on bicultural and multi-cultural education. The fifth approach begins instead with the key concepts of education and culture, drawing upon anthropological definitions of them. A conceptualization of multi-cultural education is thus developed from the concepts themselves, rather than from existing or proposed school programs which the programs' proponents purport to be multi-cultural in quality or content.

Education can be variously defined, but the anthropological view of education as a cultural process is basic to the fifth conceptualization:

> *[Anthropologists] see education as part of the general human process of socialization whereby young people are prepared to fit successfully into the internal environment of the community of their upbringing and into the external environment within which exists the total community of human beings of which they are a part* (Thomas and Wahrhaftig, 1971).

Or, following Spindler (1974), we may simply view education as cultural transmission. And, following Goodenough (1971), culture consists of

> *the various standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing that . . . (a person) attributes to other persons as a result of his experience of their actions and admonitions. . . . By our definition of culture, the standards that a person thus attributes to a particular set of others are for him the culture of that set. . . . Insofar as a person finds he must attribute different standards to different sets of others, he perceives these sets as having different cultures. . . . A person may not only attribute different systems of standards to different sets of others, he may also be competent in more than one of them—be competent, that is, in more than one culture.*

We may now define multi-cultural education as the process whereby a person develops competencies in multiple systems of standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing. Such a definition has important implication for our analysis of the meaning of multi-cultural education and allows us to overcome a number of the conceptual weaknesses of the four approaches previously presented.

First, we no longer are restricted to the view which equates education with schooling or multi-cultural education with formal school programs. The broader view of education as cultural transmission relieves educators from assuming the primary responsibility for students' acquisition of cultural competencies and suggests the need for multi-cultural education proponents to consider more carefully the relationship of school programs to informal school and out-of-school learning.

Second, we no longer are restricted to the view that tends to equate culture and ethnic group. Following Goodenough (1971), we need not associate culture solely or even principally with ethnic groups. Traditionally, anthropologists—and hence educators—have associated culture only with relatively self-sufficient social groups, rather than with sets of people who "repeatedly participate with one another in one or more activities." But just as individuals have varying degrees of competence in varying numbers of dialects or languages, and varying understandings of the situations in which each is appropriate, so, too, individuals have varying degrees of competence in varying numbers of cultures (Goodenough, 1971). While an ethnic group may indeed share a particular set of standards, its members can also be sorted into other sets which participate in common activities, related, for example, to work or religion or recreation. Some of these sets will cut across ethnic boundaries, others will lie within the boundaries. In this way we can see that the members of any given ethnic group will represent a range of cultures. Such a perspective, if adopted by proponents of multi-cultural education programs, would alleviate the tendency to stereotype students according to ethnic identities and would promote a fuller exploration of the similarities as well as the differences between students of different ethnic groups.

Third, since the development of competence in a new culture usually requires intensive interaction with people who already are competent, we can see even more clearly that efforts to support ethnically separate schools are antithetical to the purposes of multi-cultural education.

> *Because competence in the standards one associates with a set of others can be developed only through intensive interaction with at least some of those others, the sets of persons who are competent in what they perceive as the same culture overlap very largely the sets of persons who repeatedly participate with one another in one or*

> *more activities. The greater the variety of activities in which they repeatedly have dealings with one another, the wider the range of subject matter for which the people will preceive themselves as competent in the same standards* (Goodenough, 1971).

To preserve and extend group solidarity, ethnic groups may choose to resist concurrent socialization in new cultures. Ethnic schools may serve purposes equally valid to those of multi-cultural education, but they are different and need to be distinguished. Education for cultural pluralism and multi-cultural education cannot logically be equated.

Fourth, the concerns that multi-cultural education proponents have with fostering students' cultural identity, or their fears that mainstream schools will cause students to reject such identities, result from a confusion of social identification with cultural competence. For

> *just as individuals can be multi-lingual they can also be multi-cultural, the particular culture that is to be regarded as* theirs—*as when we talk of a person's culture—being determined by considerations of social identification rather than simply of competence (although obviously the culture of the group with which a person identifies himself is inevitably one in which he is highly competent)* (Goodenough, 1971).

Multi-cultural education promotes competence in multiple cultures. Which culture an individual will draw upon on any given occasion will be determined by the particular situation. Though clearly interrelated, we must distinguish conceptually between the multiple identities individuals have available to them and their primary social identities in a particular ethnic group.

And finally, the possibility, and indeed likelihood, that education (both in and out of school) promotes awareness of and competence in multiple cultures leads us away from the notion of bicultural education and dichotomies between native and mainstream culture. Such dichotomies are restrictive and deny individuals the freedom for full expression of cultural diversity. The fifth conceptualization brings instead an increased awareness of "multi-culturalism as the normal human experience" (Goodenough).[3] Such an awareness, I believe, has the potential for leading multi-cultural education away from divisive dichotomies and toward a fuller appreciation of the range of cultural competencies available to all students, minority and mainstream alike.

Conclusions

Spurred initially by minority-group pressure for equity in educational opportunities and greatly accelerated by federal legislation for bilingual and ethnic studies programs, multi-cultural education has become in a few short years one of this decade's fastest growing educational slogans. In reviewing the literature on multicultural education, we find that program proponents have provided no systematic delineation of their views, and that all too frequently program statements are riddled with vague and emotional rhetoric. To promote conceptual clarity and to bring some order to the field's broad scope, we have suggested that extant programs can be organized into four separate approaches: (1) Benevolent Multi-culturalism, (2) Cultural Understanding, (3) Cultural Pluralism, and (4) Bicultural Education. As a basis for analyzing the implications of each for school reform, program proponents need to define key concepts and to explicate their assumed relationships. Secondly, they need to consider more carefully both informal and out-of-school education and their relationships to formal school programs. Thirdly, proponents must be more realistic about the ability of multi-cultural education programs to solve social problems. If proponents are seriously concerned with changing the existing social structure through school programs, they must investigate more fully the economic, political, and social forces which impinge upon the formal educational processes.

As an alternative to the four existing approaches to multi-cultural education, a fifth conceptualization is offered which builds upon anthropological definitions of both education and culture and provides one basis for the evaluation of the other four approaches. Each of the first four approaches tends to restrict its view of culture to the culture of an ethnic group. This leads to unintentional pigeonholing and stereotyping of students. The fifth approach recognizes that there may be a culture shared by members of an ethnic group. Indeed, it is this shared competence which provides members with a common sense of ethnic identity. But members of the ethnic group will also acquire competence in the cultures of other sets and clusters of people. Such a perspective leads to an exploration of the differences among members of any given ethnic group and of the similarities of persons across ethnic lines. Given that individuals can and normally do develop competencies in multiple cultures, the question for educators is how best to create learning environments which promote rather than inhibit the acquisition of multi-cultural competencies. Social scientists can help to answer this question by studying the relation between the maintenance of group boundaries and the development of cultural competence across such boundaries. By focusing on school situations, such an avenue for research may yield important insights for promoting multi-cultural education as part of the formal education process.

Notes

1. The term "benevolent multi-culturalism" is Hilliard's (1974). The ideas underlying the term come from Freire (1972), who discusses the "paternalism" and "false generosity" of the oppressor toward the oppressed.

2. The distinction between "subordinate minorities" and "immigrant minorities" comes from Ogbu (1974):

> *By subordinate minorities I mean those minority groups who were incorporated into the United States more or less against their will. Subordinate minorities include the American Indians who were already here before the dominant whites arrived and conquered them, the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest and Texas who were similarly incorporated by conquest, and blacks who were brought here as slaves. Immigrant minorities include*

Arabs, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, among others. These groups came to the United States for the same reasons as the dominant whites—for political or religious asylum, but especially for economic betterment. Subordinate and immigrant minorities appear to differ in the way they perceive American society and how they respond to the educational system.

3. The notion of multi-cultural education "as the normal human experience" comes from Goodenough's paper in this issue.

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION DESEGREGATION STUDIES

Approximately $750,000 has been awarded to six research teams by the National Institute of Education (NIE) for "Field Studies in Urban Desegregated Schools." The Educational Equity Group of NIE let contracts in August, 1975 to conduct 2½-year ethnographic studies of desegregated schools in urban areas having a population of 100,000 or more. The studies are being conducted in North Carolina, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Tennessee, and California. The UNC team, Dorothy Clement and Joe Harding assisted by Margaret Eisenhart, is the only team composed entirely of anthropologists. Other anthropologists involved in this set of studies are Francis Ianni at Teachers College, Columbia University and Thomas Collins at Memphis State University.

The purpose of the research is to provide a better understanding of the social organization of and social processes operant in desegregated schools. This research is urgently needed to complement and provide a foundation for interpretation of the numerous short-term quantitative studies (usually based on test scores) which have been conducted in this area.

The first product to come out of this set of studies is a review of the desegregation literature 1960-1975. This was a joint effort of the University of North Carolina, Teachers College, and Memphis State groups and will be available shortly from the U.S. Government Printing Office or from NIE.

MULTI-CULTURALISM IN SOCIAL CONTEXT: CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS RAISED BY EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

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Reassessments of culture theory and the concept of culture are current intellectual issues in anthropology. Conspicuous contention over the definition, discovery, analysis, and application of the culture concept is a signal that our disciplinary paradigm is shifting. Several major contributors to this reassessment have been influenced in their theoretical formulations by their practical applications of the concept in attempts to deal with the processes of modern social change—usually perceived as "progress" or "development" in our American folk cultural view. Much of what Ward Goodenough has taught us about the cognitive conception of culture, for instance, was communicated in a manual identified with "community development" in which the title, *Cooperation in Change* (1963), deliberately conveyed a philosophy of social action. Originally attractive as a model of the professional practice of applied anthropology that would put anthropologists into direct responsibility for facilitating community action, it is now recognized as a theoretical treatise leading to a cognitive view of culture.

The combination of Goodenough's cognitive view with a semiotic conception of culture (from Geertz and Schneider, as suggested by Keesing, 1974) offers us a new way of looking at the practical political issues of multi-cultural education. The contribution of this contemporary ideational culture theory to our understanding of group conflict accommodation and the diversity encountered in schools is the focus of this paper.

Accommodation has been the dominant function of schooling but conflict and diversity in our society and schools have stimulated a range of multi-cultural educational programs. Educational policy issues that underlie the call for multi-cultural education include the history of unequal educational treatment for minority and "disadvantaged" children, legal enforcement of racially integrated schooling, the interest of certain ethnic groups in educational attention to their distinctiveness, demands for compensatory education, and the call for an educational program "which values cultural pluralism" (Hunter, 1974). These educational policy issues are historically and substantially related to the earlier issues of "development" because they arise out of attempts to deal with domestic problems of disadvantagement—what we used to call "underdevelopment" in the application of social and technical assistance overseas.

In both settings, we have been moving from deprivation to dependency theories in our diagnosis of the social problems involved (La Belle, 1975). That is, we have moved from explanations based on the deficiencies of deprived peoples to those acknowledging the disparity of social and political power. Realistically, the goals of development programs and of multi-cultural education combine technical skills and political awareness, and competence and social understanding, which provide both the substance and motivation for social change.

For some of us, the programs in multi-cultural education also represent what we have learned from practical experience in overseas development work—that our national society is more a part of the problem than the answer in the inhuman disparity in consumption of the world's resources. Thus we are attracted by multi-cultural education programs that might contribute to more humane and practical views of the international society in which we live—a kind of peace education. As educators and anthropologists, however, we have a common theoretical problem as we seek to apply the concept of culture to these issues of multi-culturalism and the goal of politically viable cultural pluralism.

National societies are associated with multi-cultural systems, including a variety of overlapping, competing, and interrelated sociocultural systems. The national societies are, in turn, subsystems of various international sociocultural systems and, more importantly, are essentially unrelated to a variety of sociocultural systems that exist within or across their national borders. Politically defined units and boundaries obscure our views of the multi-cultural nature of most human groups and of the various sociocultural divisions not associated with politically specified geographic or linguistic boundaries. Complex patterns of social affiliation make multi-culturalism the normal human experience, as Goodenough notes in this symposium.

Educational anthropologists must, therefore, be more specific about their base in culture theory. In discussions of multi-cultural education, definitions of culture and sociocultural group boundaries require explicit specification so that we can move beyond the misleading implications that only groups with a politically salient identity have culture and that each person has some single primary cultural identity. We must also be explicit about the nature of the school as a social institution. We must constantly keep in mind that differences in cultural identifications of the school's participants do not constitute in and of themselves a sufficient explanation of the problems of inequality and conflict. Simple suggestions of cultural differences between student groups, between teacher and student, or between school and community, do not explain the social drama unfolding in our schools.

The meaning of cultural categories that divide people into groups, the social context of class stratification within which competing cultural identities and symbols develop, and the culture of schools as social institutions suggest the need for a more explicit delineation of social and cultural boundaries, for an understanding of the ways in which such boundaries are crossed, and for attention to the multiplicity of cultural frameworks involved. Individuals, activity groups, peer groups, kin groups, sex groups, ethnic groups, communities, schools, social agencies, national societies, and religious groups all participate in the construction and transmission of cultural traditions in our contemporary multi-cultural social setting.

In what follows, we have included discussions of the concepts of culture, of cultural groups with shared public cultures, of cultural scenes in the recurrent social settings of schools, of the issues of cultural assimilation and pluralism, and of some implications we see for the elaboration of multi-cultural educational programs.

The Culture Concept

Basically, we see culture as a learned, shared symbol system. It is information embodied in symbols and meanings that furnishes guides for behavior. This concept of culture draws from Schneider and Geertz the idea that culture is a system of symbols and meanings learned from and shared among a group of people (Keesing, 1974). Culture is, therefore, public knowledge. "Cultures are . . . *between* the minds of these individuals [social actors], not *in* them" (Keesing, 1974). Goodenough (1971) adds the cognitive view of culture as a statement of definitions of rules, a system of knowledge which gives the individual competence in behavior. Since people learn as individuals, the ultimate locus of culture must be in individuals and we "must explain in what sense we can speak of culture as being shared."

Goodenough and Keesing resolve the problems of connecting public and shared cultural content with individual and idiosyncratic content in a similar way. Goodenough posits that all individuals develop a "private subjective view of the world . . . [a] personal outlook" from their own experience. The content of this personal outlook is dominated by "the various standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing and doing that they attribute to other persons as a result of their experience of their actions and admonitions" (1971). People come to mutual understandings about the "standards they will expect one another to be competent in and what standards they will expect one another to use." This is their "public culture." Thus, "a group's public culture is a taxonomic category comprising the various subjective versions of the group's public culture held individually by the group's members." It is a composite.

Keesing conceives of culture as "a system of competence shared in its broad design and deeper principles, and varying between individuals in its specifics. . . . [It is an individual's theory of what his fellows know, believe and mean, his theory of the code being followed, the game being played." Culture is also a composite for Keesing, since not everyone shares exactly the same theory of the cultural code or knows every sector of the culture.

Culture exists in the school in the form of information shared by participants that defines aspects of their experience there. Thus, when we speak of the culture of the school we refer to the public culture, the standards for competence, of its participants *vis a vis* this institution. However, the institution is also an arena within which other public cultures, shared by only some of its participants, operate.

Cultural Groups

As Goodenough and Keesing have demonstrated, a symbols and meanings approach (such as Geertz and Schneider's) can be combined with a rules and standards for behavior approach (such as Goodenough's) and make it possible for us to speak of culture bearers and users who have common cultural understandings or a shared system of cultural knowledge. A cultural group therefore consists of individuals who share the same public culture, the same theory of a cultural code, or the same cultural understandings.

This conception of culture implies that a complex society such as our own must contain multiple cultural groups. "Not only can societies contain sub-systems [cultural groups, in our terms], the cognitive maps of which are not uniform among participants, but they do, in fact, invariably contain such systems" (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972). Thus, as Goodenough says of a society's culture, "we are referring to a number of distinct systems of standards, not just one" (1972). In regard to the school, we can say it contains several overlapping cultural groups; e.g., professional, age, ethnic, residential, sex. If the society and the school are composed of many cultural groups and of individuals holding memberships in multiple cultural groups, how is orderly interaction generated?

Cultural Scenes in Schools

We will approach the problem of orderly interaction in terms of Spradley's (1972) conception of "equivalence structures" and "cultural scenes." Given the existence of cultural multiplicity, social interaction cannot be based on what is shared alone. It is also, according to Spradley, based on the presence of equivalence structures. "These enable participants in social interaction to predict the behavior of the other person without knowing the cognitive map that is generating that behavior. People operate with implicit contracts that enable them to interact in the same social situations while using different cultural knowledge."

We are assuming the existence of such equivalence structures in social institutions like schools. For instance, a teacher may dislike working with children from an ethnic group other than his or her own, and may handle this by interacting with the children only as a professional, being totally businesslike, strict, and aloof. The children may well understand the teacher's feelings toward them but, nevertheless, give him or her respect for forcing them to behave and creating an atmosphere in which they have to work. Parents may, in their turn, hold such a teacher in high regard, for this type of teacher behavior fits their conception of the "good" or "effective" teacher.

The presence of equivalence structures is hard to detect, however, for they have to be analytically separated from instances of shared cultural knowledge. There will be such sharing because the school as an institution incorporates "cultural scenes," in Spradley's (1972) terminology. He says, "A cultural scene is the information shared by two or more people that defines some aspect of their experience. Cultural scenes are closely linked to recurrent social situations. The latter are settings for action, made up of behavior and artifacts that can be observed by the outsider: the former are the definitions of the situation held by the insider." In these terms, the school is a recurrent social situation symbolically characterized by the coming together of adults and children for giving and receiving instruction, and the participants in schooling share a cultural scene: that is, they share information—a set of meanings—that defines a part of their experience. Because they share a cultural scene, that set of meanings—perceptions, beliefs, standards for action—must be discovered by anthropologists, and educators who want to understand it.

It is assumed that what is shared in the cultural scene of the school does not account for the total cultural knowledge that the participants use in that social situation. Various actors will share other cultural scenes within that setting as well, drawn from professions, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, and the like. These will also affect the actors' definitions of the situation. It is in this realm that equivalence structures lie.

Cultural Assimilation and Pluralism

The concept of culture set out above necessitates a culturally pluralistic view and defines the nature of the cultural groups involved. It is not, however, suitable for discussing the issues educators associate with the terms "cultural assimilation" and "cultural pluralism." There is a discrepancy because the concerns dealt with in these terms by educators are structural issues symbolized by cultural labels, not cultural issues as such.

The assimilation-pluralism issue is bound up with the school's function as gate-keeper to the larger society. The school sorts, classifies, and certifies children for adult economic roles. The importance of certification—a high school or college diploma—for occupations that allow for upward economic mobility or which make it possible to maintain the class status of one's parents in our society is well known.

The argument goes that the school is a product of the dominant position of this society's Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture. Children who pass through the school are expected to conform to the dominant cultural values implicit in the institution or be denied the benefits of certification and achievement. In fact, as Leacock (1969) has shown, children are expected to conform to the behaviors and values associated with their social class origins.

Those who take a culturally pluralistic view argue that the school should reflect other ethnic traditions as well as the dominant WASP tradition. This will increase non-WASP children's chances of reaping the benefits of certification and achievement. The argument is fine as far as it goes, although it does not account for Leacock's insights, but it is a debate about issues of social structure and stratification decked out in cultural trappings, not an argument about cultural issues.

Milton Gordon (1964) maintains that economic and political power relationships in the United States have been such that for non-WASPs assimilation in all but primary group relationships has been the experience of most immigrant ethnic groups. Such assimilation has been blocked only by spatial isolation and segregation (as with reservation-dwelling American Indians) and extreme discrimination (as with Blacks). Gordon argues that assimilation occurs on several planes: the two most important for the present discussion are (1) cultural or behavioral—the change of cultural patterns by an immigrant group to those of the host society, and (2) structural—the large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society by an immigrant group on the primary group level. The cultural patterns referred to in this case are the symbolically important features of ethnic identity, including language, dress, and other externally identifying features.

Gordon points out that in the United States the most prevalant form of assimilation has been "Anglo conformity," entailing a renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral group for the behavior and values of the core group, the middle-class white Protestant. This type of assimilation is cultural and it is likely to be the first type to occur. A condition of cultural assimilation can be said to characterize all U.S. ethnic groups. The progress of the assimilation process is, in all cases and on each plane, Gordon warns, a matter of degree. Thus, both renunciation of the culture of the ancestral group and adoption of the culture of the core group can be highly selective or very broad in scope, gradual or rapid, complete in some domains and embryonic in others.

Successful cultural assimilation, however, does not guarantee an ethnic group entry into the primary groups and institutions of the core group. It does not automatically insure structural assimilation—that occurs only when the host society allows it. The United States is, in Gordon's terms, structurally pluralistic. Despite their cultural assimilation, barriers to structural assimilation persist against certain "racial" (Blacks, Orientals, and so forth) and religious groups.

Some originally European ethnic groups appear to have long understood how unlikely structural assimilation is in the United States. They have coped with this problem by establishing parochial schools and by using the ethnic group to create a power base for politicians and an economic base for small scale entrepreneurs. These strategies have given the groups access to economic opportunities in the larger economic sphere by providing certification and employment channels.

America's contemporary and more highly visible ethnic groups—Blacks, Orientals, Native Americans—have come to realize that not only is individual advancement difficult but that it is also not the most effective channel to increased economic and occupational opportunities (it tends to produce tokenism). In our society, the most effective method for upward mobility for such ethnics is one that raises the status of the entire group, not just the status of some individual members (Tuden, n.d.) This method by-passes the barriers of structural assimilation altogether, demanding instead equal access to the society's resources and rewards without entry into the primary groups and institutions of the core group. This is done by using the group to create a political power base. A sense of worth is instilled in the group members by appealing to just those attributes (race, religion, etc.) which have prevented structural assimilation to the core group. The creation of a group power base is symbolized and spoken of in ethnic terms (Novak, 1971).

So what is sometimes viewed by educators who are interested in multi-cultural education as cultural pluralism is in reality the result of challenges to structural pluralism by groups seeking upward mobility and who symbolize that quest in cultural terms. In fact, some degree of cultural assimilation has already occurred. The school, however, helps to maintain the condition of structural pluralism that exists in this society. An ideology of cultural assimilation in the school setting assumes that individual upward mobility and structural assimilation are possible, even though in practice it is limited to a token few.

Implications for Multi-Cultural Education

The presence of an ideology of cultural pluralism in a school setting legitimates and symbolizes the use of a group approach to upward mobility for previously dispossessed ethnic groups. It indicates the group in question has recognized the existence of structural pluralism and is attempting to combat it by using ethnicity to create and symbolize a political power base for upward social mobility. The school itself cannot eliminate structural pluralism. However, it can symbolize, through multi-cultural education programs, the political forces at work that can break down structural pluralism.

While multi-culturalism in schools is often a response to the problems of inequality faced by minority children within the schools and the larger society, the problem is not necessarily one of changing school experiences for minority youngsters. The position of minority groups in our society is an artifact of the values and structure of dominant groups in the society. No amount of enriched schooling for minority children is going to change this larger structure; that can only come from changes in the public culture of the dominant groups. While we would expect little direct influence on these groups from schooling for cultural pluralism, it is essential that schooling proposals acknowledge the sources of social disadvantagement and direct our efforts towards the larger society as well as its victims.

In one sense, multi-cultural education is an argument for an "indigenization" of the schools so that educational programs might more truly represent the cultural and political interests of the particular children and communities involved. In another sense, it is an argument for the importance of all children receiving the advantages of cross-cultural experience that gives them meaningful skills as well as values, facilitating their participation in cross-cultural collaboration for goals important to them, whether they are associated with subordinate or dominant social groups.

In the long run, one should suspect that schools probably can be more viable instruments of cross-cultural learning. No one grows up without a vernacular language and culture, which includes the skills for survival in one's domestic setting. These are the things we learn before entering schools, or after school hours. Some, however, do not get the "foreign" skills for dealing with the larger world which shows variations in hostility toward or acceptance of local ethnic, class, racial, and religious group cultures. The ultimate goal of schooling might be conceived for all children as the development of abilities for "world-mobility" (Mead, 1946).

One might suggest that the failure of American schools to achieve efficient academic instruction is in part a result of their relationship to the existing class structures of our society in which they ritually and symbolically reinforce the social class standing of dominant group children. In any event, this kind of cultural view of schools, ethnic groups, and our contemporary society is intended to suggest a theoretical base for dealing with the educational policy issues associated with multi-cultural educational slogans. As Keesing (1974) says, " 'culture' could serve us well if we use it to help untangle the vastly complex skeins of interconnectedness in . . . [the phenomenal] world."

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MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY[1]

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In an internal memorandum of the Office of Education Survey of Equality of Educational Opportunity, five definitions were given of the notion of "equality of educational opportunity" (Coleman, 1968a). The stated purpose of that memorandum was to determine the design of the survey which ultimately became known as the Coleman Report (1966). As Coleman later noted, the five definitions actually split sharply into two groups. In the first three definitions, equality of educational opportunity referred to equality of "resource inputs" such as facilities, curricula, teachers, student backgrounds, and student morale. For the remaining two definitions, equality referred to equality of results, in the achievement and attitudes of the students, given the same *or* different "individual inputs" (1968a). Stated another way, the first three definitions were concerned with measurements of the inputs to the school whereas the last two were concerned with measurements of the effects of schooling.

Given these possibilities, the educational survey itself was designed to provide as much information as possible—for purposes of policy recommendations—on the equality of both resource and individual inputs and individual effects. Then, subsequent to the collection and preliminary analysis of the data, it was argued that equality of educational opportunity, as measured by output, was not widespread across the United States primarily because individual input could not be equated given the diverse sub-cultural or ethnic backgrounds of the students who were competing in an educational system geared to the dominant culture.[2] In fact, a simplification of the major conclusion of the study was that "the closest portions of the child's social environment—his family and fellow-students—affect his achievement most, the more distant portion of his social environment—his teachers—affect it next most, and the non-social aspects of his school environment affect it very little" (Coleman, 1968b; 1975).

What this meant was that, given the high degree of cultural pluralism and economic stratification in the United States, and given the primary importance of family and peer-group in the socialization process, it was found that there was great inequality of student input to the educational process. More importantly, however, by measurements of resulting achievements and attitudes, it was found that this inequality of input was not offset by the formal educational process.

This conclusion, though surprising to officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Young and Bress, 1975), should have been predictable since societies which have a high degree of cultural pluralism and a well-developed system of class stratification (such as the United States) should have difficulty with achieving equality of educational opportunity when the educational system essentially ignores the subordinant cultural groups.[3]

In this context, we do not view cultural pluralism as meaning that the large number of ethnic groups in the U.S. are, or should be, internally homogeneous, or that these sub-cultural units are or should be segmented into corporate groups with distinguishable sets of equivalent social institutions (Smith, 1969; Kuper, 1969; Hazard and Stent, 1972). Instead, following van den Berghe (1969), we view cultural pluralism in terms of structure wherein some cultural traits may be shared (such as a rule of descent) but others may remain distinct (such as dialect variations). Pluralism, when viewed this way, recognizes, among other things, the relative absence of value consensus, the relative presence of conflict between the sub-cultural units, the relative importance of coercion and economic interdependence as a basis of social integration, and the political domination by one of the cultural units over the others.[4]

Of course, in terms of the educational system, the very existence of cultural pluralism means that equality of education, as measured by equality of achievement given differing individual inputs, is an impossibility unless those individual differences are somehow taken into account (Wolfram, 1975; Carlson, 1975; Labov, in press). One response by educators to this problem has been an increased interest in the concept of multicultural education as it applies to groups. As currently defined, this form of education attempts to make the school supportive of the cultural environment of the students (Stent et al., 1972). That is, the curricula, teachers, institutional structures, and evaluative standards are to be those of the student's immediate cultural environment. Under this interpretation, and contrary to the viewpoint of some educational psychologists (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1967), students are not to be defined as disadvantaged on the basis of their pre-school learned behavior.

The specific goals of this form of multi-cultural education are to make the educational institutions congruent with the cultural backgrounds of the students and, perhaps more importantly, to give the students an appreciation and positive valuation of their own cultural heritage. This form of education is stated to be non-assimilative in terms of the dominant culture.[5] Instead, it is a mandate to separate and isolate all of our sub-cultural or ethnic units into groups and "significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages" within the territorial boundaries of the United States (Hazard and Stent, 1972). After this separation is achieved, all of the isolated groups will be designated as, or legislated to be, equal and will negotiate back into some form of social unity from these newfound positions of strength. Under this system, equality of educational opportunity will presumably be measured in terms of the relative access of individual students to knowledge of their cultural heritage.

We think, however, that several questions are raised by this form of educational thinking. First, in the United States, what is or would be the relationship, if any, between the lack of assimilation and the continued existence of a rather rigid hierarchical ranking of the sub-cultural units with the dominant culture which has a vested interest in preventing social mobility and a redistribution of society's resources? Second, does not multi-cultural education as here defined compel individuals to remain in culturally distinct units on the basis of ascribed rather than achieved characteristics, and to have access to a relatively limited number of statuses and roles? Carried to its intended conclusion, we believe that this brand of education will unquestionably strengthen the internal cohesiveness of the sub-cultural units. However, we do not believe that these units will have a better bargaining position because of the greater fragmentation of the society. In fact, we think that the emphasis on separation will result in a perpetuation of the worst aspects of a culturally pluralistic society–i.e., the political and economic domination of one of the sub-cultural units, at least in terms of occupying the widest, most important, and most influential statuses.[6]

As an alternative to this focus for multi-cultural education, we would like to see the principal goal of education become the training of culturally pluralistic individuals. That is, the focus of our educational institutions should not be to create or perpetuate distinct sub-cultural units but, rather, it should be to acquaint all students with the great range of cultural variation–and of the resulting social statuses and roles–to be found in the United States and, concomitantly, to teach them the techniques or analytical skills necessary to compete for the statuses of their choice. What we are arguing for is a distinctly different focus for our educational institutions. On the one hand, we are not opposed to giving students a positive valuation of their own cultural heritage; in fact, we think that this is absolutely necessary. On the other hand, we are opposed to doing this to the exclusion of the larger social unit precisely because this will place individuals into ascribed statuses and will, we think, enable the dominant cultural group to maintain its favored position.

From our point of view, then, equality in terms of education will be measured by the student's relative awareness of the range of possible statuses and roles, and by the student's relative ability to effectively compete for those statuses and roles. As should be obvious, the emphasis in this form of education will be on individuals and not on any specific social group. The ultimate goal is that individuals will have sufficient information about their own and other sub-cultural units to be able to deal effectively with the whole of their physical and social environment.[7] Besides the benefits to the individual, however, education geared in this direction should have group-wide benefits. Specifically, social cohesion should be enhanced because all individuals will be members of a single social system based on knowledge of the systemic components (sub-cultural units) and, we hope, on a developed pattern of multiple affiliations and cross-cutting loyalties.

But how are these goals to be achieved? Fortunately, many of the necessary concepts and tools to carry out this form of education are readily available in the trends towards individualization of programs, the use of paraprofessionals in the classrooms, the implementation of community advisory boards, the increasing student body heterogeneity, the equalization of funding, and the recognition that texts must reflect a positive valuation of cultural pluralism.[8] In addition, although this has been argued before, educational administrators and teachers should be required to have relatively broad behavioral science backgrounds in order that they can recognize and act upon the wide-range of cultural variability found in the United States (Stent et al., 1972). In this process, moreover, the educators could benefit particularly from improved communication with anthropologists since the anthropological perspective is sadly lacking in the schools. That this is true is indicated by the fact that many educators have little understanding of the articulation of the schools with other social institutions, nor do they always understand the limitations imposed on formal education by these other institutions.

This is, of course, not totally their fault for, unfortunately, much of the work of anthropologists is lost to all but the most persevering educator because either the educators do not have the theoretical grounding to make use of generalized cross-cultural studies or the reports appear only intermittently in very specialized books and journals written by and for anthropologists.[9] However, this problem can be countered to some extent if anthropologists would become more personally and directly involved in the nation's schools by studying the American educational system and the phenomenon of American cultural pluralism—and by communicating their findings to the educators.

Finally, we should note that if the focus of education becomes the training of culturally pluralistic individuals, the benefits to be derived will not be achieved quickly. This is so because, as Coleman pointed out, the schools are not the primary institutions of socialization—families are. Nevertheless, the schools can lead the way and, probably within a generation or two, the goals we suggest should be realized.

Notes

1. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Drs. Gail Benjamin, George Male, Ernest Migliazza, William T. Stuart, and Aubrey Williams, all of the University of Maryland, for their helpful comments on drafts of this paper.

2. We choose to use the phrase "dominant culture" as opposed to the more commonly used "majority culture" because there are circumstances where the dominant culture is not the majority culture, such as in South Africa. Also, we should note that the term "sub-cultural" is used as a single term encompassing both ethnic and religious groups. It is in no sense a judgment concerning the relationship of one cultural group to another.

3. We do not feel that it is necessary to defend this statement. For our position, we agree with Guerra (1972) when he wrote of Americans:

> *Monolingual and monocultural education in America has traditionally ignored the cultural pluralism of American society. We acknowledge ethnic and racial differences, religious variances, and a cultural heterogeneity of our cities, but the criteria of our value judgements, our value system, and our social consciousness remain predominantly White Anglo-Saxon Protestant—that is, representative of the monolingual, monocultural predominant society.*

4. "Relative," as we mean the word in this paragraph, refers to the fact that these characteristics do not obtain for all members of any single ethnic minority since assimilation occurs at differing rates among members of such groups. That is to say that cultural traits are unevenly shared among the members of all sub-cultural groups.

5. By "assimilation," we and the authors in Stent et al. (1972) mean to "make similar" which is, of course, the literal meaning of the word. However, we do not favor assimilation any more than those now practicing multi-cultural education do. On the other hand, we do not agree with the notion of preserving complete separateness.

6. We are not here arguing for a favored position for the statuses and roles of the dominant culture. What we are arguing is that those statuses which control policy-formulation and decision-making for the total policy should not be totally or even predominantly filled by members of the dominant group.

7. What we envisage, by analogy to the "code-switching" of bi-linguists, is the implementation of an educational program geared to teaching "culture-switching"—which is, of course, already practiced (at

least to a certain extent) by most Americans.

8. As a concrete example of these programs, we state our agreement with the *Lau vs. Nichols* Supreme Court decision and the resulting HEW guidelines for compliance: specifically, that in any school district with twenty or more students from a single, non-English language group, a bi-lingual educational program is required at the elementary, intermediate, and secondary levels, with a gradual transition for non-English speakers into utilizing written and spoken English (LR 1975).

9. Of course, not all anthropologists who have worked on socialization processes have failed to communicate with their colleagues in education: Mead, Wax, Ianni, Spindler, Nash, and Goodenough are just a few of those who have made the effort. However, we are calling for a much more direct and consistent system of communications between the two disciplines.

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TOWARD A DEFINITION OF LOCAL-LEVEL MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Multicultural education (MCE), as described by many of its advocates, is a labyrinth of assertions and assumptions which needs to be examined. To those who make the largest contributions to education—namely, individual teachers and students in specific communities—the assertions and assumptions often make little sense. In this paper, I will deal with three dominant aspects of the standard MCE argument. Following this discussion, I will take the position that multicultural education cannot be defined apart from specific communities and is more a matter of local ethnographic description than one which is easily generalized throughout the country. Finally, I will present some anthropological categories which should serve a local educator in defining whether and to what extent a multicultural population exists within the school district, and suggest some educational implications of the categories.

The myth of cultural pluralism

Multiculturalism is based on rejection of the "melting pot" theory's two assumptions: (1) that America was inextricably bound up in the process of ethnic assimilation, and (2) that eventually ethnic identities would blend into a common amalgam, yielding a cultural synthesis. A further ethical consideration was implied by the description—that such an assimilation process was good and beneficial to all.

Thus, the "melting pot" approach is presented as a three-pronged argument with ontological, teleological, and ethical configurations. In a classic case of deliberate historical antithesis, the pluralist position is presented in the same way but with an exactly opposite response to the conditions of American life.

Typical of the statements seeking to model pluralism in this fashion is the recent resolution by the American

Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (1973). It includes the following statement:

> *Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should melt away cultural differences or that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted toward the preservation and extension of cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource and should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major educational institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism . . . cultural pluralism rejects both assimilation and separation as ultimate goals. . . . If cultural pluralism is so basic [a] quality of our culture, it must become an integral part of the educational process at every level. Education for cultural pluralism includes four major thrusts: (1) the teaching of values which support cultural diversity and human uniqueness; (2) the encouragement of the qualitative expansion of existing cultures and their incorporation into the mainstream of American life; (3) the support of explorations in alternative and emerging life styles; and (4) the encouragement of multiculturalism, multilingualism and multidialectism.*

I shall indicate some of the fallacies contained in this type of statement. First, ontologically, the statement is only partially correct. Cultural diversity is a fact of life in American society, yet the statement overlooks this country's acculturative processes, both past and present. An enormous amount of assimilation, cultural diffusion, and ethnic reciprocity has taken place, and these factors continue to characterize the total society. Indeed, if acculturation is not significant as a factor in establishing identity, it is pointless to even use the concept "American society." Further, if acculturation and assimilation have not occurred, it is not possible to describe the cultural process whereby the ethnic identity of countless Americans has been replaced by a distinctly American identity. It may reasonably be said that many Americans have more ethnic similarity with racially-different Americans today than they would with their own foreign-born grandparents.

Moreover, I suggest that pluralists imply that minority Americans favor ethnic difference over assimilation by choice. Statements like those quoted above are designed to enforce ethnic distinctions even where none exist and to exaggerate differences which do exist. This is an inevitable result of over-generalizing and labeling. An illustration of this practice is the diverse reactions minority students exhibit when discussing education and culture. One black student asked, "How long will it take before I am free of the labels? Once I was a nigger. Then I was culturally deprived. Now I'm culturally different." He proceeded to list the cultural categories which define ethnic identity, including language, diet, costuming, technology, economics and beliefs, and submitted a convincing case for his being nothing other than middle-class American. By every anthropological yardstick, he was just that. There is little doubt that, while diversity is one characteristic of our country, one of the most omnipresent characteristics is the inclusion of once diverse people in a similar culture. Since formal education is not a revolutionary agency and cannot be, due to its functional interdependency with the larger society, we see the summons to reinforce ethnic diversity as both an unhealthy sign of coercion and as an empty and rhetorical utterance characterized by anthropological naivete.

The teleological and ethical components of the AACTE statement are possessed of the same kinds of meaning. There is little doubt that many minority cultures persist, to the degree that they have experienced discrimination and economic inequality. Thus, a disproportionately large number of minority people are poor, a condition often mistaken for a truly different culture. I am not suggesting that there are not real cultural differences in this country nor that those who are culturally different from the dominant culture should desire assimilation. Rather, I am objecting to a prevalent confusion between condition and culture. The condition of poverty, with its associated habits and attitudes, needs eradication. Once one feels such a conviction, one must then make a commitment to an anthropology of change. If the habits and attitudes of poor people are to undergo change, the question becomes—in what direction?

To the extent that schools provide avenues for successfully moving into the dominant cultural group, minority individuals use it to rise above their former condition. Truly ethnic characteristics common to the condition of poverty tend to disappear, even though there may be attempts to retain certain symbols of ethnic separateness. To argue that certain groups should not experience assimilation is both ethnocentric and anthropologically absurd. Romanticizing minority cultures neither acknowledges the function of schools nor maximizes the options of minority people.

The new myth of cultural pluralism has the same difficulties as did the melting pot myth. Americans are not locked into inexorable patterns of ethnic diversity, nor should they be put in the position of wanting to be. When schools are involved, they are bound to assist in minimizing diversity even as they recognize cultural differences. Current programs in bilingual education may claim that they accomplish the opposite effect; yet they recognize diversity in order to optimize the students' capacities to assimilate themselves. The more effective the programs are, the more likely some sort of assimilation will occur. Bilingual programs and applied anthropology both have the conviction that things could be better and the assumption that some tampering with and altering of existing ethnic boundaries are preferable to the present arrangement. One cannot be committed to both boundary maintenance and improvement; they are conflicting aims.

It is unfortunate that polarization on the melting pot-pluralism issue has blinded us to both statistical and existential realities. Both data and experience teach us that there is nothing inevitable about our cultural future except that change is occurring and it controls our children's destiny. Since academicians can exercise only limited powers over the decision-making function of ethnically different individuals, and are also limited in expanding such individuals' opportunities, they cannot adequately define multi-culturalism—it is with individuals and their environment that the case must be made. The matter of one's present ethnic identity and one's future course is ultimately a phenomonological matter.

Local-level multi-cultural educations

One's real behavior may be described by others who view one up close. It is in this sort of observation that multi-cultural education has its greatest potential benefit. Since it is a fact that ethnic differences exist in important dimensions, and that such dimensions are anthropologically available, it seems obvious that we should identify them. Such differences need not be displayed pathologically but it must be acknowledged that they do exist and that they affect learning and academic outcomes. It is important to indicate to teachers, administrators, and students how culture influences learning and, in particular, how a genuine cultural difference can interfere with the academic process.

The problem of national characterizations. Before describing how this cultural interference takes place at the local level, it is necessary to emphasize an earlier point. We are concerned here with genuine cultural differences, not political ones. It is often politically expedient in America to refer to collections of diverse people as though they were a cultural entity even when they are not, or to make a similar people appear different when they are bound together by culture. Thus we can discuss some black Americans, some white Americans, some Indian Americans, or some Mexican Americans. But is not anthropologically tenable to discuss in one breath the "black family," the Chicano," "the white mentality," or "Indian housing patterns" unless one is doing internal ethnology. There is such diversity within sociologically-defined groups that the diversity is the main characteristic.

It is obvious that racism is partly responsible for the artificial collectivizing of people. There are experiences common to many minority people's histories, yet their current character is richer than that provided by an explanation of racism and their present experience is greater than the bond of discrimination. While the pattern of psychological damage which racism imprints is incalculable, ethnographic research should go beyond it. However, though central racism may appear at the national level, ethnography within the community will certainly involve other themes.

The present ethnographic and ethnological data concerning America's cultural groups are often inaccurate. Characterizations of minority people and about majority people are filled with ethnocentric and simplistic judgments. Perhaps one reason for this is that we have been lured into a fog of statistical analysis which seeks to establish national norms, national characteristics, and national fortunes and failures. National pictures are supposed to involve regional composites, which are supposed to involve local composites, which, of course, are abstracted from individual profiles. But by the time the sociological data reach the national level they have been so constricted by the requirement for simplicity that they seldom reflect realities in any particular community. Thus, drop-out rates, delinquency statistics, and other nationally-published data usually tell the teacher little about either the students or the students' community. Comprehensive and specific knowledge of a particular population of Mexican-Americans in a given city, town, or village is enormously important in developing a theory and a method for their education. One cannot define multi-cultural education without regard for the social interactions within the community, or by relying solely on culturally meaningless statistics.

Locally-based cultural categories. This brings us to the field-based "how-to" format which I feel is essential for defining a local-level multi-culturalism. How do we obtain pertinent information concerning a school in which different cultures exist? While a growing number of educationists and anthropologists are dealing with this question, I would like to suggest that each school district must conduct its own ethnographic research, and that such research must be seriously used by local decision-makers concerned with education. In the following discussion, I will indicate some categories which must be included ethnographically. There will be other categories in any particular community, and each of these must be considered before any definition of the extent of multi-culturalism can be said to be complete. My category descriptions will be necessarily brief but each affects the child, the school, and the learning process in significant ways.

(1) *Language.* Knowledge of language varieties within a school district is essential for conducting ethnographic analysis. One who is engaged in the education of youngsters should know the syntactic, lexical, phonetic, and stylistic features of that population. Without assuming any "deficit," we can assert that children's linguistic proclivities significantly affect both their academic performance and their social interaction in the school. Studying the socio-linguistics of the community provides

one essential type of knowledge. Another is derived from contrastic linguistics, which may be applied to children's adaptive skills in formal standard English. The dominant social conventions which surround language usage in peer associations and family and other primary and secondary relationships are data which effective teachers should consider as fundamental to understanding children as are current aptitude scores and past academic performance.

(2) *Family structure and social roles.* Coming of age in a culture means learning the identity, the roles, and the expectations placed upon you, with or without your consent. The origin of one's notions about being human are in the early years. Thus, the student of multiculturalism is logically drawn into a thoughtful consideration of family structure. Rules which govern proper conduct, imposed sexual roles, and conflicts regarding authority are basic to understanding specific children. Whether a particular family is matriarchal or patriarchal, whether the parents share equally in the decision-making function, whether an extended family is present—all provide clues to the logic of the child's nature. An Anglo child coming from a patriarchal family is just as likely to be influenced by that fact as is a Mexican-American child. A study of enculturation involves one in the logic of being successful, as represented by the models made available in the culture to the child. At the local level, the teacher who knows the child's mode of thinking is usually one familiar with the family and the roles acted out within the family.

(3) *Values and beliefs.* Human reasoning has a way of beginning and ending in moral stances, which are usually patterned and reinforced by one's community. Children in the classroom identify themselves in terms of a network of beliefs and methods of valuing, and act out or perceive reality according to them. It is unfortunate that we have teachers confronting students ignorant of their particular patterns of belief. The problem is exponentially greater in culturally heterogeneous classrooms where teachers have only teachers' lounge gossip and old stereotypes to get clues as to their students' modes of valuing. It is a problem because students from a significantly different cultural milieu are likely to possess beliefs and values which run a different course from those of the teacher and which reside within them and influence their learning. Knowing the psychology of children is not possible without reference to their ideals and ways of measuring good and bad, right and wrong. Since educational psychology already espouses the concepts of individual differences and psychologizing curricular materials, it is consistent to add a knowledge of how their culture teaches children to construct reality on moral grounds.

(4) *Time and space.* We know from social-psychological and anthropological investigation that notions of time and space are both culturally universal and highly relative. Further, we know that American education pays considerable attention to, and rewards and punishes according to, these two dimensions. Some have suggested that students experience success and failure in terms of these categories more than any other. Violation of the dominant rules of time and space, for which students are frequently punished, include being tardy, speaking out of turn, being out of line, invading another person's privacy, taking what does not belong to one, or not having what one is supposed to have. These characteristic mis-cues, indicative of multi-cultural situations, must be investigated if the teacher is to understand why students behave either in concert with or in contrast to the expectations of the institution. More frequently than many of us realize, the problem is cultural rather than strictly behavioral.

There are other culturally-based categories which determine cultural pluralism at the local level and which influence formal education. Like the above categories, each could occupy volumes of description and analysis; unfortunately, they are usually ignored by both theoreticians and teachers in multi-cultural classrooms. Strangely, those who advocate cultural pluralism are among those least likely to discuss and analyze the genuine cultural differences that affect learning.

Thus far, I have indicated some of the crucial concepts to be used by teachers to define the multicultural context, and have tried to suggest the inapplicability of much textbook and journal material that purports to enlighten teachers. I wish now to draw a distinction between theoretical and applied anthropological studies. Multi-cultural education is a form of applied anthropology. It can succeed only if teachers can perceive students behaving logically within their subcultures and can translate their observed rational behavior into a positive educational effect. Should the time come when minority children enjoy academic success with predictable regularity, it will be because teachers have had an anthropological-educational foundation upon which to conduct their own investigations. For this to occur, they will need anthropological models that fit the American educational setting. Some have been developed, and these need to be communicated to teachers as soon as possible.

However, we should keep in mind that no model is a substitute for first-hand knowledge on the part of teachers or students. To know the student, one must be prepared to step out from behind the isolating walls of the institution and participate in the life of the student and the community. This involves such activities as church attendance, frequent home visits, and observation of play and peer associations. It also involves anthropological field-training for teachers and prospective teachers working in multi-cultural school systems. I recognize that few currently think of these activities as part of a teacher-training program for, in fact, I am suggesting a less convenient approach to teaching and teacher education, one which goes beyond the textbook orientation of this profession.

If multi-culturalism is to be defined, and if it is to produce some tangible and beneficial educational results, a holistic approach must be employed. The only real hope for improving the present statistically bleak picture of minority performance in American education lies in the promotion of direct, sustained, and personal anthropological encounter between teachers and students.

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ACCESS TO POWER AND MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AS GOALS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?

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My commentary will focus on two concerns reflected in the papers collected here. The first concern is with the concept of culture. The concept of culture that has dominated discussions of multi-cultural education is a homogeneous one, stressing the general differences between groups that mark them as culturally distinct. The alternative view of culture is one that emphasizes intra-group diversity without denying the existence of cultural knowledge that is shared by the group. Most authors in this issue strongly advocate use of the second concept, not only because they think it is a more accurate characterization of culture but, more importantly here, because it promises to be more useful or productive in the development of multi-cultural education programs.

My second concern is the application of this concept of culture to multi-cultural education programs. In several papers (Gibson; Hourihan and Chapin; Carlson), a homogeneous concept of culture is associated with educational policy that has as its goal a society of homogeneous ethnic units, each of which is culturally distinctive. In these same papers, the heterogeneous concept of culture is associated with educational policy intended to produce a society of multi-cultural individuals. The first policy is criticized in these papers, while the second policy is praised. My purpose is to critically evaluate not only the rejection of the first goal of group pluralism, but also the linking of this goal to a homogeneous concept of culture.

In the last two decades, the anthropological concept of culture has been used to explain why ethnic minority children do not perform as well as children from a white middle-class background on school achievement tests. To counter arguments that minority children are deprived of a stimulating learning environment in the home, anthropologists have argued that they are not deprived but are instead provided with a culturally different learning environment. Minority children do not acquire the content and the style of learning pre-supposed by curriculum materials and teaching methods encountered when they enter school.

Many of the educators to whom anthropologists have presented this argument espouse a "liberal" view that stresses individual differences among children and encourages official blindness to racial and ethnic differences. To convince them that there is a pattern to minority children's failure in school that could be correlated with ethnicity or ethnic identity has been no small achievement. It entailed an emphasis on what was shared by all Black ghetto children, or all Sioux children, that was in keeping with the homogeneous concept of culture. It also entailed a wholesale denial of the relevance of deprivation as a factor in school performance when, in fact, it is a factor. To this day, we have developed no criteria for distinguishing cultural difference from cultural deprivation. Yet such an emphasis may have been necessary to persuade educators to even consider the relevance of cultural differences in the socialization process.

This identification of distinctive minority cultures has been compatible with two major concerns of minority groups that they brought to public attention through political activity during the last two decades. The first of these concerns has been to equalize educational opportunity for minority children so as to provide them with access to knowledge necessary for social mobility and power within our society. The notion that all school curricula constituted a barrier to such access because it was culturally alien to ethnic minorities supported their claim of inequality of access and their demands for change. And to the degree that minority groups sought mobility as groups, the anthropological emphasis on ethnic categories as predictive and explanatory of behavior fostered recognition of minorities as political entities.

A second major concern of minority groups has been to bring an end to the denial and denigration of their ethnic identity and to stop the process of their assimilation into mainstream culture through assimilative educational practices. Here again, the anthropological emphasis on the reality (and intrinsic value) of culturally distinctive minority groups' beliefs and behavior supported the minority claims that this process was, in fact, occurring and should be stopped.

Not all those who identify themselves as members of named ethnic minorities share either or both of these concerns. Nor has it been clear that the goal of access to power and the goal of maintenance of ethnic culture and group identity are really compatible and jointly feasible, an issue I will take up again.

The application of a homogeneous view of culture to ethnic minorities has been criticized for good reasons. Such a view ignores the cultural diversity within these groups and conveys the false impression that there is a single Chicano, Black, or American Indian set of beliefs and behaviors. If such a vision of minority culture is taught in the classroom, it can contribute to stereotyping of minorities that can then be confusing to minority children, few of whom will be able to identify with such stereotypes, and also to children who do not identify with any minority group. The homogeneous view of ethnic minorities may also ignore aspects of social identity other than ethnicity shared with those not identified with minority status. Again, if such a view is conveyed in the classroom, it can sharpen a sense of differences and cause discomfort to minority children who seek to be perceived as "one" with their peers.

The contributors to this symposium generally advocate a more heterogeneous view of minority culture which can serve to correct the limitations of the homogeneous view. However, Gibson, Hourihan and Chapin, and Carlson go quite a bit further than this in their discussions. They suggest that minority groups or educators who are interested in fostering cultural or group pluralism in this country should subscribe to a homogeneous view of culture, reflected by their advocacy of teaching only knowledge associated with minority culture to minority children. Thus, Black children would learn only Black culture taught in a Black style.

This policy is criticized on the grounds that educating minorities only in minority culture is incompatible with a quest for greater power within our society. Hourihan and Chapin are most explicit on this issue: "we think that the emphasis on separation will result in a perpetuation of the worst aspects of a culturally pluralistic society—i.e., the political and economic domination of one of the sub-cultural units, at least in terms of occupying the widest, most important, and most influential statuses. As an alternative to this focus for multi-cultural education, we would like to see the principal goal of education become the training of culturally pluralistic individuals." Carlson arrives at a similar conclusion: "One cannot be committed to both boundary maintenance and improvement; they are conflicting aims." Gibson's objections to group pluralism, however, seem based on the assumption that it will lead to "divisive dichotomies between 'native and mainstream' culture." Yet, even though she is little concerned with the issue of access to power, she, too, notes: "Education for cultural pluralism and multi-cultural education cannot logically be equated."

By attributing an educational program for teaching minority children only their own culture to minority groups and educators, these authors set them up as "straw men," assigning them the position that can most easily be attacked. Even though anthropologists and others have conveyed the impression of ethnic homogeneity, and their arguments have been compatible with minority political goals, most members of minority groups are well aware of their need for mainstream knowledge in order to survive. Most often, one hears them advocating education programs that will both increase minority access to mainstream knowledge necessary for power and contribute to the maintenance and positive development of ethnic identity and culture.

The desire to control such educational programs through minority political organizations is clearly present. The view that expresses greatest confidence in the possibility of such programs is one envisioning selective acculturation through which the minority groups decide what in mainstream culture will be of value to them and then transform what is borrowed so that it is meaningful in their own terms and can be successfully integrated into a distinctive way of life that continues in a dynamic, not static, manner.

While it is unfair to attribute a simplistic educational program of ethnic homogeneity to minorities or educators, some of the objections to such a program still apply to the view that I have suggested is more typical. Is it possible to develop educational programs that meet both the goal of greater access to power and the goal of maintaining ethnic group culture and identity?

I would not fault Gibson, Hourihan and Chapin, and Carlson for raising this issue. However, I think they are premature in their conviction that one can have either the maintenance of ethnic groups or access to power through educational programs, but not both. What is worse, they seem to have decided (given that a choice must be made between the two) that educational programs should give priority to maximizing minority access to power and sacrifice the maintenance of ethnic groups. This is the type of choice that minorities have been insisting they should make for themselves. Minority criticisms of anthropologists who claim to be experts on the people they study—and, by virtue of this, to know what is best for them—seem to have fallen on deaf ears.

Still, it is not clear in what ways these two goals—access to power and maintenance of ethnic group identity and culture—may or may not be jointly met by innovative educational programs. Anthropologists have argued that if a curriculum for minority children is designed so that it is more compatible with their pre-school and out-of-school learning experiences, then the children will learn more effectively. This type of curriculum, sometimes referred to as "culturally relevant curriculum," is apparently part of what Gibson, Hourihan and Chapin, and Carlson are criticizing as providing a homogeneous dose of ethnic culture but depriving minority children of mainstream cultural knowledge necessary for access to social mobility. I say "apparently" because none of them makes explicit reference to what is actually taught in any educational program. Such a curriculum has been advocated—and developed—with the idea in mind that it could provide both a greater access to mainstream society and a strengthening of ethnic identity.

For some aspects of a curriculum, it is difficult to find fault with the expectation that the two concerns can be equally well-served. If, for example, Papago Indian children take more interest in a story about an Indian child who gets lost in the desert than in a story about a child who goes to the zoo, then why not use the first story in teaching them how to read? Reading itself, however, is undeniably a valuable mainstream skill. Similarly, why not replace local Anglo history with the Papago Reservation's history?

But now suppose that an Indian myth is used in place of Goldilocks and the Three Bears as a familiar story to be told orally in a first-grade class of Indian students. As part of reading readiness activities, such oral renditions are designed to familiarize students with patterns of the sequencing of events in stories that will later help them make sense of what they learn to read. But the sequencing of events in Indian narratives is quite different from the sequencing of stories from Western European traditions. For example, it is often episodic, rather than building to a single climax and denouement.

Does this mean that the Indian children who hear the myth are being cut off from access to knowledge of rules of narrative sequencing that they may later need to comprehend spoken or written communication delivered in a style derived from Western European cultural traditions? If so, is this type of knowledge crucial for access to power in this society? Would loss of knowledge of Indian narrative form be considered a crucial loss of ethnic culture? How much exposure or lack of exposure to one form rather than another would it take to make a difference?

I don't have answers to these questions but I believe it is important to find ways to answer them. There is a need to know more about what types or aspects of knowledge are crucial in meeting minority goals, a need to know more about how the concept of "culturally relevant curriculum" is actually being implemented, and a need to develop ways of evaluating such implementations to determine whether the children are learning the kinds of things their parents most want them to learn.

Should it turn out that the goals of access to power and maintenance of ethnic group identity are not entirely compatible, then I hope it will be the minority groups themselves who decide which goal is to be given what weight in the development of education programs for their children.

THE MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION MODEL AND MINORITIES: SOME RESERVATIONS[1]

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The papers in this issue suggest the contributions anthropologists can make to understanding the educational problems of ethnic minorities. The three interrelated papers by Goodenough, Gibson, and St. Lawrence and Singleton, in particular, focus on model building and on conceptual and theoretical clarification. Goodenough's refinement of his theory of culture introduces the notion of differential power relations and their implications for education. Gibson categorizes school programs formulated to meet the needs of minorities, and offers Goodenough's theory as a model for genuine multi-cultural education. St. Lawrence and Singleton develop an integrated cultural construct, partly on the Goodenough model, which can be used to analyze the problem of cultural diversity in the schools.

Since, as Gibson notes, the problems of minorities gave rise to the issue of multi-culturalism in the schools, it seems appropriate for me to comment on these papers in the context of these problems. Do they contribute to our understanding of the plight of minorities in the schools? Do they suggest policies and programs aimed at solving rather than perpetuating the problems? From this perspective, none of the papers considers sufficiently the relationship between group subordination and cultural processes. For example, Goodenough discusses the general significance of inequality for culture theory but stops short of considering how differential power relations influence the individual's acquisition of culture; St. Lawrence and Singleton question the significance of cultural differences based on ethnicity and class in intergroup conflict; and Gibson's definition of multiculturalism ignores inequality, so that her proposal has questionable programmatic implications for minority students.

While all three papers ignore the effect of racism on culture, Goodenough's discussion of power comes closest to dealing with this issue. Interestingly, since the other two papers draw on his culture theory, their failure to consider this issue is highlighted by reference to Goodenough's analysis. My discussion of the papers begins with St. Lawrence and Singleton, moves next to Goodenough and concludes with Gibson. Throughout, I am concerned with the educational problems of minorities and with the relevance to these problems of cultural constructs and the policies they generate.

The paper by St. Lawrence and Singleton is of particular interest to researchers because they integrate the work of Goodenough, Keesing, and Spradley to develop a valuable model for analyzing the interaction of different cultural groups in the school. It would have been useful if the authors had carried this further and applied the model to specific schooling problems of minority children. Instead, they view these problems as manifestations of structural inequality which they feel has neither its genesis nor its solution in educational institutions. They write:

> ***The school itself cannot eliminate structural pluralism.... While multi-culturalism in schools is often a response to the problems of inequality faced by minority children within the schools and the larger society,*** the problem is not necessarily one of changing school experiences for minority kids. ***The position of minority groups in our society is an artifact of the values and structure of dominant groups in the society.*** No amount of enriched schooling for minority kids is going to change this larger structure—***That can only come from changes in the public culture of the dominant groups.*** [emphasis mine]

While it is most important to recognize the existence of widespread inequality in the total society, and to realize that the schools cannot singlehandedly solve the problem, this recognition should not be carried to the extent of underestimating the schools' role in maintaining and perpetuating cultural and structural inequality. The authors intimate that the schools are ineffective loci for change, yet minorities find them among the most critical and accessible targets through which to influence the "public culture" of the wider society. Schools afford a foothold for instituting pervasive changes elsewhere in the society. It seems shortsighted for St. Lawrence and Singleton to discount their importance in the broader struggle for minority group parity.

Goodenough, too, appears to contradict the notion that the schools are not key factors in structural inequality. Discussing what he calls the "politics of education," he writes that educational "institutions are the instruments by which people control access to more specialized microcultures and to the power and privilege they confer." He points out the significant role of educational institutions in maintaining structural inequality and notes that inequalities in power are closely related to inequalities in access to skills and knowledge. Thus, the current failure to educate minorities in the schools is an effective means of maintaining their subordinate position in the wider society. As St. Lawrence and Singleton themselves note, the schools currently fail to provide "foreign" skills to minority children at the same time that they reinforce the superordinate position of children of the dominant group. It is just these "foreign" skills which are crucial, for they represent tools of cultural assimilation that are a necessary pre-requisite to structural assimilation. Accordingly, the issue of more effective schooling for minorities becomes central to the elimination of structural inequality in the wider society. Since, as Goodenough notes, the schooling process has far-reaching political and structural implications, changes in that process are necessarily interrelated with changes in the public culture of the dominant group. Indeed, it is moot which change effectively precedes the other.

St. Lawrence and Singleton similarly downplay culture conflict in the schools as a significant factor maintaining minority inequality. They write:

> ***It must constantly be kept in mind that differences in the cultural identifications of the school's participants do not constitute, in and of themselves, a sufficient explanation of the problems of inequality and conflict. Simple suggestions of cultural differences between student groups, between teacher and student, or between school and community do not explain the social drama unfolding in our schools.***

To state that culture conflict is not a sufficient explanation of inequality in the wider society should not blind us to the significance of culture conflict in assuring failure and thereby perpetuating inequality in the schools. Given the minority group's goal of more effective schooling for the ethnic poor, it seems a serious mistake to continue to ignore those valid cultural differences which specifically interfere with learning in the school. The authors' preoccupation with structural inequality in the wider society and concomitant disregard of the inequality and conflict stemming from inadequate educational programs shifts legitimate responsibility from the schools. It would be unfortunate if this sort of apologism were used to rationalize a shift in research priorities from cultural to structural issues in minority education. This point will be explored further below.

Goodenough's paper includes an important discussion of power and its relationship to the attainment of specialized skills and knowledge. However, it does not explore the relationship between inequality and multiculturalism. For example, how is a minority individual's acquisition of cultural knowledge afffected by his or her subordinate position in society? Seeking clarification of this issue, I consulted Goodenough's 1971 statement of culture theory, a more extensive discussion of many of the points he makes in the present paper. There, as in the present paper, he notes that a society's public culture is characterized by different systems of standards, that individuals vary in their competence in these systems, and that their access to participation in the wider society rests on their acquisition of specialized knowledge. However, his only allusion in that paper to the effect of subordination on the attainment of specialized skills and knowledge is found in the following statement from *Culture, Language and Society* (1971):

> ***differences in competence tend to be associated with social boundaries within the larger society. Such differences, therefore, often serve as indications of social identity, such as one's age, sex, caste, or class. Moreover, a person's several competences, among other things, are likely to be his passports to acceptance within the labor gang, professional society, religious congregation, or social club.***

It is disappointing that Goodenough's important work does not include a more explicit analysis of the way social boundaries affect differences in competence and in the acquisition of specialized knowledge.

Goodenough (1971) postulates that individuals gain competence ordinarily only through interaction with those who already have it. This raises the question of how social boundaries affect interaction between groups of individuals with varying degrees of competence in the wider society's macro-culture. For example, it is evident that the ethnic poor's structural exclusion assures that they acquire cultural competences which are relatively narrow or devalued in terms of the variety of competence systems characteristic of a complex society. Moreover, in interaction between privileged and subordinate groups, cultural boundaries may remain relatively impenetrable even when social boundaries are lowered, as witnessed by the isolation and conflict that all too often ensues when groups of poor minorities attend integrated schools. Social interaction alone, then, does not lead to the acquisition of broader competences in the wider society. Goodenough, in his present paper, alludes to this when he notes the conditions necessary before individuals can take advantage of situations where specialized knowledge is offered. The conditions include the appropriate aptitudes, sense of self, and emotional readiness. Interestingly, all of these factors may be significantly conditioned by a group's shared cultural standards.

This raises the point that a group's cultural standards also affect the recognition and legitimation of competence. Goodenough (1971) states that an individual can acquire cultural competence similar to the participants in a particular culture-sharing group, but that "membership as a matter of cultural competence . . . is different from membership in the social-psychological sense of identifying oneself, or being identified and accepted by others, as a member of a group." Similarly, individuals can be ignored or penalized in their attempts to learn or demonstrate competence. For example, Sullivan (1974) cites a study showing that teachers gave least attention and praise and more criticism to gifted black students as compared to white students and non-gifted black students. Other studies have shown the strong peer pressures against school achievement among ghetto youngsters. Thus, the concept of "multi-culturalism as the normal human experience" must explicitly recognize the constraints inequality imposes on the acquisition of competence. Clearly, the degree and consequences of multi-culturalism for youngsters ghettoized in the inner city or on the reservation differs from that of youngsters from the dominant group. Lacking needed clarification, the Goodenough model seems inadequate for an understanding of minority educational problems. Moreover, its use in the schools might well function to perpetuate exclusion of the ethnic poor.

This concern became uppermost as I read Gibson, since she proposes just such an application of the Goodenough model. Her paper, which admirably distinguishes between four school "multi-cultural" programs, is so directly concerned with policy that its major thesis bears reiteration. Gibson attributes shortcomings in current education "multi-cultural" approaches primarily to their reliance on a model that equates culture with ethnicity, an approach which introduces a false dichotomy between ethnic and mainstream culture. She argues that this model leads to cultural deficit programs on the one hand or to "cultural pluralism" on the other and sees both as inimical to true multi-cultural education. She takes the position that "cultural pluralism" is primarily an attempt by ethnic minorities to use ethnicity in the schools as a political technique to further ethnic interests, that it leads inevitably to cultural polarization, and that it is therefore particularly detrimental to the promotion of multi-cultural competences in all individuals. Finally, she proposes Goodenough's construct of "multi-culturalism as the normal human experience" as a model which can lead to true multi-culturalism in education. Unfortunately, she does not, as she did with the first four approaches, suggest the change strategies which the Goodenough model might generate. Therefore, it remains unclear how this approach can promote parity in the educational process for minorities and produce full multi-cultural competencies for all students.

Gibson clearly recognizes that multi-culturalism in the schools first emerged because of minority opposition to the racism and inequality stemming from the wider society. While she alludes to these structural problems in her critique of change strategies derived from current "multi-cultural" programs, she seems to ignore them in her proposal that Goodenough's model is the most valid for the development of true multi-cultural education. This is seen in her concluding paragraph when she discusses the importance of interaction across ethnic group lines for multi-culturalism. She writes:

> ***Given that individuals can and normally do develop competencies in multiple cultures, the question for educators is how best to create learning environments which promote rather than inhibit***

> *the acquisition of multi-cultural competencies. Social scientists can help to answer this question by studying the relation between the maintenance of group boundaries and development of cultural competence across such boundaries.*

Therefore, although Gibson recognizes barriers to interaction, she does not consider sufficiently the significance of differential power relations for boundary maintenance, particularly the way a dominant group deliberately manipulates social boundaries as symbols and strategies for withholding power. Nor does she acknowledge the extent to which a dominant group legitimizes its own position by devaluing the cultural identities of subordinate groups. This leads her to assert that use of the Goodenough model in minority education will avoid cultural deficit programs, but to overlook the fact that any program for minority education which does not explicitly recognize structural and cultural inequality will be transformed into a cultural deficit program. Therefore, efforts to facilitate the development of multi-cultural competencies in all students must contend with the fact that minorities will be expected to gain competencies in the dominant group's culture but that the reverse will not be the case. Goodenough has noted that only the powerless find it necessary to become multi-culturally competent. I would stress that multi-cultural competence is a matter of survival for minorities in an ethnically stratified society such as ours. However, it must be noted that minority students who develop competence in the public culture of the dominant group all too often acquire a parallel sense of devaluation of their own group's standards (Rodriquez, n.d.). Thus, the notion of "multi-culturalism as the normal human experience" in a situation of structural inequality contains an implicit denial of the legitimacy of minority group cultures. Education programs which fail to recognize the dominant group's stigmatizing of minority cultural competences cannot, in my opinion, promote the conditions for boundary interpenetration which are essential to multi-cultural learning.

The "cultural pluralism" approach which Gibson discusses, unlike the proposed multi-cultural model, is fully grounded in the realities of minority group subordination. It takes explicit account of the minority individual's need for positive self-concept before the self-confidence needed to learn new cultural competencies can develop. This need is recognized but unelaborated, as well, by Goodenough, who cites as a necessary pre-condition for the individual's acquisition of specialized skills "a perception of self and self goals that makes developing the skills and acquiring the comprehension seem appropriate or desirable." In the existing situation of minority cultural exclusion, Gibson's position that "cultural pluralism" precludes a full development of multi-cultural competences seems unwarranted. Not only is education for cultural pluralism, as Gibson notes, an effective strategy for furthering ethnic interests, it is also the most realistic model for the development of minority multi-culturalism. In this connection, Hilliard (1975), a proponent of cultural pluralism, points out the prevailing "ethnocentric mythology" in education:

> *every school subject, if taught truthfully and realistically requires a plural cultural perspective. Science, literature, the behavioral sciences all must be freed from the monocultural ethnocentric focus that characterizes most standard coursework. . . . We can no longer tolerate nor afford to permit a subject area to be called generally "music," "history," "psychology," "political science," when it is really a culture specific music, history, psychology, or political science. Such a condition will cause the school to be primarily the servant of a special interest or favored culture.*

Cultural pluralism, for many minority educators, represents not the polarization of different groups within this society, but rather a needed strategy in the development of equality of education for minority children. They see cultural pluralism as a necessary stage leading to the goals of inter-group cooperation and integration. Hilliard notes the importance in this process of a positive sense of self and group identity when he writes:

> *Therefore self-affirmation is not destructive to community nor does it mean the negation of others. Self-affirmation is the precondition for respectful interaction with others. This is difficult for many multi-culturalists from the dominant culture to accept. Self-affirmation is seen as separatist or as re-segregation. This idea often grows out of . . . an unconscious aspect of a colonial mentality.*

According to the strategy of cultural pluralism, development of positive identity is necessarily a group as well as an individual process. The "multi-culturalism as the normal human experience" model views the educational process as centered exclusively on the individual; however, this position appears to ignore the effects of stereotyping on members of minority groups. Thus, minority individuals, regardless of their natural aptitudes, are socially categorized as belonging to a subordinate and inferior group and, as a result, either internalize societal expectations toward or experience societal barriers accorded all members of the group. Since for many, a favorable self-identity depends on a strong group identity, development of a positive group identity becomes imperative to counter the effects of negative stereotyping. Successful multi-cultural education of minorities must incorporate methods which are responsive to perceived group as well as individual differences. One such method might be the use of bi-cultural teachers to assist in the teaching of specialized knowledge and skills in a context where both one's own group accomplishments and inter-group interaction are stressed. As the individual develops a sense of group pride and individual self-confidence, skills can be more readily acquired and adapted to situations of meaningful inter-group contact.[2]

The achievement of multi-cultural education for minorities requires strategies that recognize not only the realities of inequality and oppression, but also the significance of cultural differences and their effect on teaching and learning. The St. Lawrence and Singleton argument that cultural differences are not sufficient explanations for school inequality and conflict seems to dismiss, as I note above, the significance of cultural factors in the educational problems of the ethnic poor. Lee and Gropper (1974), although interested in sex-role culture and its effect on student learning, provide insights applicable to the minority poor. They observe that teachers define a certain type of pupil role as being necessary for learning and then fail to teach those children who do not conform to this ideal. Warning that "teachers need to recognize that their preoccupation with a narrow pupil role forces them to be custodians of those children who do not fit the ideal," they note the importance of changing not only the official but also the hidden curriculum which perpetuates this process of exclusion. Studies of ethnic lower-class children show that their failure to conform to school and teacher ideals regarding appropriate behavior for learning stem from cultural experiences and expectations which differ widely from those of their teachers and other school personnel.

Silverstein and Krate (1974), for example, note that teacher determination of which students will succeed in these ghetto schools occurs by the time a child reaches the third grade, and that this prognosis is based on evaluation of student behavior and attitudes. Those children who do not behave according to middle-class norms are programmed by the school so that either they do not learn to read or they read below their grade level throughout their school careers. Goodenough's discussion of the factors affecting the individual's access to knowledge which leads to competence in the standards of the wider society seem relevant here. He observes that the individual's mental and physical aptitudes affect his or her ability to acquire the specialized skills and knowledge leading to prestige and power in the wider society. It has been suggested that mental aptitudes are tied to cultural experience (et al., 1971), and that the cultural experiences of lower-class minority children generate distinctive cognitive abilities which differ from those of middle-class children (Cohen, 1969; Lewis, 1975). Schools are structured to extend the abilities of children of the dominant group and often tend to ignore or suppress the capabilities of lower-class ethnic children (Gay and Abrahams, 1972; Phillips, 1972; Weems, 1974). Thus, Goodenough cites the importance for learning of a positive self-concept and sense of self-goals and of freedom from emotional blocks, conditions which require changes in both school curriculum (Hilliard, 1975) and pedagogical techniques (Anderson, 1974) to insure that minority experiences and learning styles facilitate rather than obstruct effective teaching and learning. The current failure to provide "the conditions necessary for acquiring knowledge and skills" leads, I believe, to the self-fulfilling prophecy that Ogbu (1974) found where poor minority children felt so demeaned that they ceased trying to succeed in school. I hope that future anthropological research in the schools will use culture theory to more adequately analyze the problems of culture conflict underlying minority school failure.

The symposium papers highlight the need for educational researchers to develop better theories of sociocultural process as a prelude to sound educational policy. I have tried to show why these theories cannot overlook or underestimate the legacy of racism and inequality in our schools. Moreover, formulation of viable educational policy must also incorporate the perspective of minorities (both lay people and educators) who have a critical stake in facilitating acquisition of multi-cultural competencies and who have first-hand experience in the dominant society's strategies of exclusion.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Naomi Katz for her critical response to an earlier version of these comments.

2. An experimental multi-cultural school in the San Francisco Bay Area following this model included five ethnic groupings: Spanish-speaking, Black, Chinese, Jewish, and a catch-all category including WASPs, Filipinos, Japanese-Americans, and others in numbers too small to form a distinct group along ethnic lines. Each of the groups met every afternoon to study ethnic heritage which included study of a language (in the case of Blacks, Swahili), history, and current events from the perspective of that group. In the mornings, the students interacted in mixed classrooms to learn the technical skills of math, reading, and the dominant culture's view of history, social studies, and so forth. When one group observed a special ethnic holiday, such as the Chinese New Year, it held a celebration to which the other groups were invited. The stress throughout was on pride of one's own ethnic heritage and respect for and learning about the heritage of other groups. The aim was to stimulate interaction among groups which felt themselves to be equals, since it was felt that interaction across ethnic lines without a sense of pride would lead to inequality and conflict.

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COMMENTARY: PARADOXES AND DILEMMAS

Jacquetta Hill-Burnett
University of Illinois

This symposium lays bare some of the knottiest problems in designing and implementing school-related programs that will deal with the fact of the multiple cultural and linguistic experiences of the student population in this country. The manner in which key issues are laid out may draw quick and cutting criticism, but the participants deserve thanks for raising the issues far enough out of the chaos to allow us to address ourselves to them. My main purpose here is to touch on several of the most important paradoxes and dilemmas that the participants have raised directly in their presentations or that have emerged from their differences.

While the objective of this symposium is to clarify the meaning and the significance of the "cultural" component of bilingual-bicultural or multi-lingual-multicultural programs related to school settings, the unavoidable conclusion from reading all the papers is that neither culture nor competence are "enough." Certainly clarity about the concepts of culture and about the role of cultural competence in the conduct of social interactions are important contributions to such programs. However, they are not the key components in the establishment and continuity of multi-cultural programs in or in connection with school settings. The symposium, it seems to me, is another case towards making the point that cultural knowledge and competence, or knowledge competence in itself, are not primary determinants of social situations. Other, more ecologic, factors set the conditions for the effects produced by knowledge-like phenomena. Thus, in the precis of his theory that underlies Gibson's recommended multicultural approach, Goodenough turns in his final section to the consideration of "wants" for given positions that are inhibited by differential distribution of power to determine competence. This perspective, when considered in the context of the St. Lawrence and Singleton discussion of the political use of culturally symbolized groups, clearly points up the limited effect of competence in cultural knowledge on increasing access to those positions in the society that are associated with more resources, particularly with the valued goods and conditions of life in the society. The key to access to a position, is not the competence of the performer but the answer to the question of who has authority to judge whether the performance meets the standards, and to the question of how the judge is linked to the other arrangements in the society for maintaining a given constellation of differentiated resources and power over resources.

Thus, St. Lawrence and Singleton also give an account of some of the literature that chronicles the fact that competence, even multi-cultural competence, is not enough. Milton Gordon pointed out in 1963 that in the U.S. cultural assimilation (his concept that parallels culture competence) did not inevitably–indeed, more commonly has not led–to structural assimilation. He was reporting on the fact that cultural competence did not necessarily lead to positions associated with, or to participation in, circles in which significant decisions are made about the society's direction and its distribution of resources. When individual efforts at mobility to these key societal positions are likely to fail, group mobility is in order. Thus, while educators are busy with concerns over competence, say St. Lawrence and Singleton, political organizers of ethnic groups are busy using special educational programs to promote the language and cultures of ethnic populations as an aid to the consolidation of a political power base. And from this base they will have used cultural pluralism to attack and shift, if not to destroy, structural pluralism, the stratified hierarchy of unequal distribution of the resources and power to ethnic groups to afford a life of good quality.

However, here lies the source of a paradox. St. Lawrence and Singleton, in leading up to the discussion of ethnic political use of ethnic culture, introduce the concept of cultural group. This arises from the fact that the political use of ethnic culture reifies culture—stereotypes culture in association with a group; it shifts the emphasis from culture as a code for interaction to culture as a social identity marker. From this point of view, it is understandable why St. Lawrence and Singleton are tempted to formulate the notion of cultural group; but that concept skirts the brink of logical inconsistency, taking us a step backward from the careful distinction between culture as code and the set of actors (group) that use it (a distinction basic to Goodenough, Keesing, and Spradley). The distinction set anthropological theoretical thinking on a course away from the "cookie cutter models" of bounded culture. The conceptual development has now almost reached the extreme of viewing culture as "fluid" understanding of the interactive moment by participants in the interaction (Cicourel, 1975).

As Carlson's paper says, the political use of ethnic culture leads to "enforcing ethnic distinctions even when none exist and to exaggerating differences which do exist." Carlson wants no part of the political expedient of referring to "diverse people as though they were a cultural entity even when they are not, or to making similar people appear different when they are bound together by culture." Pursuing this course in schools, says Carlson, may help lock American minority children into inexorable patterns of ethnic difference and isolation, and may limit rather than maximize the personal options of minority people. The multi-cultural approach only works at the local level, says Carlson. At that level, it facilitates removal of barriers to learning and achievement. Fundamentally, Hourihan and Chapin lay out a similar version of the paradox that cultural pluralism in the form of ethnic group advocacy in the school actually can help perpetuate structural pluralism and stratification by further isolating children in a single but non-mainstream language system and culture system.

Here, then, lies the paradox. Intercultural understanding based on multi-culturalism is to be introduced in the school to remove the barriers to learning, achievement, self-respect, and mobility. But to be introduced requires that multi-cultural education be cast in the form of programs and that they have political backing in the very competitive arena of school finance. But the process of politicizing increases the emphasis on boundaries, on cultural attributions to groups. At this level, it is stereotyping, and in this form culture is used stereotypically, consequently increasing the likelihood that children will be identified and stereotyped ethnically. Thus, in developing an approach to alleviating inequalities, the very process of introducing and maintaining that approach in schools reinforces the conditions it is to alleviate.

Turning now to a more pragmatic dilemma, I have difficulty understanding what will be the organizational setting of the multi-cultural education that Gibson advocates. She nevertheless carefully points out that education is not to be narrowly understood as schooling, but is to be understood broadly as cultural transmission itself. She eschews thinking narrowly in terms of programs (although the unit of activity by which schools form objectives and plans and allocate financial material, temporal, and spatial resources is programs). She emphasizes recognizing the many settings in which culture competence is to be developed. But, with this, one comes to an organizational impass. What organizational entity is to promote the approach? Or is there to be a coordinated approach? Or is it a suggested new ideology to guide many organizational effects, leaving coordination to the general appeal of the approach? If so, we seem to have turned back into the ideology Gibson very much wishes to get away from. So the dilemma emerges. The conception emphasizes the ubiquity of cultural learning and encourages emphasis on informal arrangements for transmitting cultural knowledge. Yet schools carry out activities in program format. And programs formalize approaches or plans. Thus, if one proposes to use the school as the organizational setting to promote multi-cultural education, its very structure countermands the informal educational emphasis of the multi-cultural approach. But not to use the school forces one to look elsewhere, and no likely candidate readily emerges that can easily or feasibly mobilize people, money, and effort on behalf of multi-cultural education.

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JOB OPENING

M/F Training and Research Coordinator for cross-cultural resource center. M.A. degree required, Ph.D. and training in anthropology preferred. Experience in training paraprofessionals, professionals and/or community members. Must have experience with Spanish-speaking community. Ability to plan and supervise library research, needs assessment and impact evaluations. Salary range $14,700-$17,688 per year. Apply by 12/1/76. Mail resume to: Foundation of CSUS, 7670 La Riviera Dr., Sacramento CA 95826. A Title IX Equal Opportunity Employer.

MEMBERSHIP SURVEY 1976

Susan Ciolek-Torrello

In an attempt to gauge reader interest and the ongoing needs and expectations of CAE members, the *Quarterly* staff asked their subscribers to fill out a short reader survey in spring of this year. Questions asked included interest in committee membership; teaching, work and research experience; information about consulting interests; and preferences in journal reading. Results of this survey are based on 185 forms that were returned (18% of membership). A few forms received after the analysis took place are not included in the results reported here. These will be added at a later date. We wish to thank all the participants for providing us with this information and with the many helpful comments and suggestions also included.

Three areas will be briefly reported on at this time: the academic discipline of the responding teachers and students, the frequency of reading the journal by the respondents, and the reading preferences of the respondents. Information about those interested in consulting is being compiled for future reference. Committee interests will be forwarded to the appropriate steering committee members.

Results of the survey indicate that respondents come from a diverse set of academic disciplines within the fields of anthropology and education (Fig. 1). The largest group of respondents teach anthropology in a four-year undergraduate program (32), or in both graduate and undergraduate programs (23). The smallest groups of respondents are elementary teachers (5) and students from specialized subfields within anthropology and education (5).

Figure 1. Discipline Frequencies

	Absolute Freq.	*Relative Freq.*	*Adjust. Freq.*
Anthropology Professors			
Elementary	2	1.1	2.2
Secondary	7	3.8	7.6
Two yr college	12	6.5	13.0
Four yr college	32	17.3	34.8
Grad college	16	8.6	17.4
Both grad/undergrad	23	12.4	25.0
Missing values	93	50.3	–
Anthropology and Education Professors			
Four yr college	11	5.9	27.5
Grad college	15	8.1	37.5
Both grad/undergrad	14	7.6	35.0
Missing values	145	78.4	–
Education Professors			
Four yr college	10	5.4	26.3
Grad college	14	7.6	36.9
Both grad/undergrad	14	7.6	36.9
Missing values	146	79.4	–
Anthropological Topics			
Elementary teachers	3	1.6	33.3
Secondary teachers	6	3.2	66.7
Missing values	176	95.1	–
Students			
Anthropology	20	10.8	43.5
Anthro and ed	14	7.6	30.4
Education	6	3.2	13.0
Museum studies	1	.5	2.2
Social sciences/ed	1	.5	2.2
Ed. psych	1	.5	2.2
Linguistics	1	.5	2.2
Folklore	1	.5	2.2
Sociology	1	.5	2.2
Missing values	139	75.1	–

We are happy to report that most of the respondents indicate either a thorough (32.4%) or frequent (46.4%) reading of the journal. Of the respondents, 19.6% indicate an occasional reading and less than 2% glance at the journal or do less.

Our most avid readers among the respondents are education professors, with 50% indicating a thorough reading of the journal. Closely following, 49% of the anthropology and education professors also indicate a thorough reading. Anthropology teachers are least likely to read the journal thoroughly; only 29% of those respondents indicate a thorough reading.

Interest in the various features and articles of the journal reveal certain preferences on the part of our readers. Our most popular articles are those dealing with applied research–52% of the respondents indicate a great interest in this topic. Great interest in articles on curriculum uses of anthropology and education, socialization, ethnic and minority issues, bibliographic notes, and education in developing countries ranges from 39% to 43%. Other percentages are teaching anthropology at the college level (33%), president's notes and council activities (16%), Singara (14%), and language-related articles (13%).

Interest of respondents broken down by academic discipline reveal certain additional patterns. Elementary teachers are excluded from these tabulations because of the few numbers of respondents from this discipline.

(1) Socialization articles are most favored by undergraduate anthropology and education professors (64%) and anthropology students (60%). Secondary-level teachers of anthropological topics are the least interested in socialization articles; only 20% indicate a great interest in this topic.

(2) Applied research topics show different patterns of interest. These topics appeal most to students in

disciplines other than anthropology or anthropology and education (80%). Undergraduate education professors also have considerable interest in this topic (78%). Those groups least interested in applied research are again secondary-level teachers.

(3) Articles on curriculum uses of anthropology and education are favored most by secondary-level teachers (approximately 80%), and anthropology teachers in two-year colleges (73%). Less interest is expressed by anthropology students (30%), anthropology undergraduate professors (38%), and anthropology and education undergraduate professors (38%).

(4) The Singara feature of the journal attracts low interest among most groups. Those groups expressing the greatest interest in this area are education students and other students in the sub-fields of anthropology and education disciplines, with 40% each rating this feature as of great interest. Least interest among the respondents is found among graduate-undergraduate anthropology professors (.12%) and anthropology students (.06%).

(5) Individuals most interest in articles on teaching anthropology at the college level are anthropology teachers at two-year colleges (75%) and graduate professors of anthropology (60%). Least interested in these topics are graduate education professors (22%), education students (17%), and graduate-undergraduate professors of anthropology and education (14%).

(6) Interest in bibliographic notes shows considerable contrast between groups of readers. Most graduate-undergraduate professors of education find this topic of great interest (90%). Most anthropology and education students (82%) agree. Groups finding this topic of considerably less interest are secondary-level teachers (33%), and students in the sub-fields (20%).

(7) Interest in articles on the president's notes and council activities is greatest among responding graduate professors in both education (69%) and anthropology and education (69%). Groups least interested in these topics are undergraduate professors (9-11%) and teachers at two-year colleges (8%).

(8) Linguistic or language instruction topics generally receive the lowest ratings of all features and topics surveyed. The greatest interest (25%) is indicated by graduate anthropology professors and graduate-undergraduate professors in anthropology and education.

(9) Articles on ethnic or minority issues appeal most to graduate-undergraduate education professors (71%). Graduate level professors in anthropology and education (67%) and anthropology (64%) also have considerable interest in these topics. Ethnic or minority issues appeal least to all student groups except anthropology students, with percentages ranging from 31 to 33%.

(10) Interest in education in developing countries is greatest among responding undergraduate anthropology and education professors (70%), graduate-undergraduate anthropology and education professors (54%), and graduate professors of anthropology (54%). Considerably less interest is generated among responding anthropology students, sub-field students, and secondary-level anthropology teachers, with 20% each indicating great interest.

In summary, a number of generalizations can be made about CAE members that responded to the survey. First, the largest group of readers are anthropology professors; the smallest, elementary teachers. Our most avid readers are education professors, with anthropology professors indicating the least thorough reading. The most popular articles are those on applied research, with the least popular being language related topics. Socialization articles and articles on applied research are highly favored by the majority of respondents from all disciplines except secondary-level teachers. This latter group, however, shows considerably great interest in articles on curriculum uses of anthropology and education. This interest is also shared with two-year college teachers in anthropology. Articles on teaching anthropology at the college level also appeal to two-year college teachers but have only moderate appeal to other groups. Specialized features, such as Singara, president's notes and council acitivities, appear to have only limited appeal among most groups. An exception to this pattern is the graduate professor's interest in president's notes and council activities. The bibliographic notes section and articles on ethnic issues and educational development attract great interest among only a few groups. Finally, relatively little interest in language-related articles is indicated by respondents from all groups.

NEW GUINEA EDUCATION

Research Reports. G. Kemelfield and B. Keviami, "High School Leavers Look to Their Future: A Study in Mendi and Tari." G. Kemelfield, "National Language and Literacy Survey." G. Kemelfield and P. Palmer, "Education and Village Life." P. Palmer, "Problems of Girls in High Schools." K. Still and J. Shea, "Something's Got to be Done so We Can Survive in this Place: Problems of Women Students at UPNG." J. Shea and K. Still, "Student Opinions About Teaching and Learning at UPNG." J. Silvey, "Selection Into and Within High Schools in PNG." S. G. Weeks, "The Social Background of Tertiary Students in PNG: The Results of a Survey of 680 Students in Twelve Institutions." S. G. Weeks, "How Tertiary Students Use Their Vacations." S. G. Weeks, "National Service and Community Involvement as Seen by Tertiary Students in Papua, New Guinea." S. G. Weeks, "Tertiary Education Leavers 1973-1975: Causes and Consequences of Wastage." *ERU Occasional Papers.* S. G. Weeks (ed.), "Education and Independence, 1975: A Resource Book on Documents and Issues in Education." S. G. Weeks (ed.), "The 'Philip Foster Fallacy' in Educational Planning: Responses to the 1974 Waigani Seminar Lecture." *ERU Working Papers.* S. G. Weeks, "Niugini Hailans I Go Ahet (A *Tok Pisin* Literacy Game)." The cost of a subscription to the next ten of these to appear, including the *Issues* book is 12 Australian, 15 US, and 8 UK to cover overseas postage. The price of each research report will be raised to $1 US for up to 50 pages. Please make your check payable to the University Bookshop (PNG) but send with your order for the next ten issues to the Educational Research Unit, Box 4820 University PO, Papua, New Guinea. Publications will be sent by sea mail.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The 1975-76 administrative year ends with CAE in fine shape intellectually and financially. As always, there are regrets about opportunities not taken, tasks uncompleted, problems on the horizon. Overall, however, your Council currently enjoys vigorous good health.

Perhaps the outstanding event of the year was CAE's co-sponsorship, with the Far West Lab and NIE, of the "Workshop Exploring Qualitative/Quantitative Research Methodologies in Education," in Monterey, California, 21-23 July 1976. Academically, the program was all that we dared to hope for, demonstrating *(inter alia)* the relevance of "true" ethnography (as opposed to various procedures masquerading as such) to understanding the educational process, and the continuing difficulty anthropologists have in explaining to non-anthropologists the nature of ethnographic method and the reasons for our belief in its scientific integrity. Final contractual details are still being worked out but it appears that the proceedings of the Monterey conference will be published by CAE early in 1977, and distributed free of charge to members in good standing at that time. To Bob Textor, acting on behalf of the Board of Directors, belongs most of the credit for this scholarly and publishing coup!

Fred Erickson has lined up a very impressive CAE program for the Washington meetings, 17-21 November, details of which are available elsewhere in this issue. We continue to demonstrate that we represent a growing and dynamic sector of contemporary anthropology. I call your attention especially to two strategic Ad Hoc Committee meetings on Friday, on "Employment in Non-Academic Settings" and "Evaluation of Educational Settings," respectively; and to the special event Sunday noon, on the "Evolution of Anthropology of Education," for which Fred has assembled a very distinguished cast of senior members of our sub-field. Also, we are going forward with our plans to involve elementary, secondary, and community college teachers in all phases of the Washington gathering, but particularly in the "Curriculum Resources Workshop," which is really a "hands-on" display of a wide range of available materials and is scheduled for all day (until midnight!) Saturday, 20 November. If you have friends in the Washington area who might be interested, please let them know; membership in CAE and AAA is not necessary for access to the Workshop.

I also want to emphasize that Board of Directors and Committee meetings are *open* to members and prospective members, and that anyone in attendance is invited to speak on matters before the body. Voting, particularly at Board meetings, is restricted to members designated by the By-Laws but we are eager for you to observe and participate in the sessions and to influence, if you can, the continuing evolution of CAE.

It's never too early to think ahead (I find, frequently to my chagrin), and those who are considering symposium or paper topics for the Houston meetings in November of 1977 should put their thoughts in order to test them in Washington with Dell Hymes, upon whose shoulders rests the construction of the 1977 program. The deadlines for 1977 proposals will occur incredibly soon after the conclusion of the 1976 meetings. Also to be assessed is Jack Chilcott's suggestion to move the bulk of CAE's symposia and papers to the annual meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology, reserving the AAA meetings for business sessions of CAE. This idea will be on the agenda of the Board of Directors to discuss in Washington; please express your appraisal of it to any Board member you encounter.

I am happy to report definite progress in the selection of an editor to replace Jack Chilcott, who completes his three-year term with this issue. At this writing, we have firm applications from at least five well-regarded members, with the possibility of one or two more still to be received. The Search Committee may not announce its choice until the November meeting, and Jack may be asked to do one or two additional issues to permit the new editor to put his or her professional affairs in an order sufficient to undertake editorial responsibilities. You should be pleased to know that a transition appears both feasible and imminent, however—a possibility somewhat remote when I last reported.

On the negative side, I will mention two matters. First, I am disappointed that the press of other business, mostly at Northeastern, prevented me from exploring as actively as I wished sources of funding for the proposed computer-based update of Jackie Hill-Burnett's *Anthropology and Education Bibliography*. This is a vital project for sustaining the momentum of our specialty, one that I hope appropriately designated successors can further where I have failed. I did have a conversation with a representative of a major foundation, who expressed guarded interest in the project, which is very much worth following up. My apologies for lack of action to the entire membership, to the Bibliography Committee, and especially to Jackie and to Bob Textor, who had such high hopes for progress this year.

Finally, I must communicate my real concern about the future financial situation of the Council, which ironically finds itself in an excellent fiscal position this fall. Our actual surplus for the fiscal year that ended 30 June 1976, was $1500, as opposed to a budgeted $1050. We thus increased our accumulated surplus to nearly $3900, an impressive sum but still an insufficient reserve for an organization with a yearly operating budget of approximately $10,000. For example, it appears that four issues of the *Quarterly* will in the future cost us nearly $8000, compared to the $5100 Jack Chilcott spent in 1975-76 (employing several probably unduplicatable techniques), and the $5400 budgeted for 1976-77. This increase would virtually wipe out the present surplus in one year. The Board of Directors must study the situation with care and implement remedial measures as expeditiously as possible.

I will close my last President's Report with my thanks to the members for providing the opportunity to serve.

Thanks also to the other members of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors for their continuous support and cooperation. I look forward to seeing many of you at the Washington meetings, and to turning over the core administration of the Council to two outstanding new officers, Fred Erickson and Dell Hymes.

John D. Herzog

TEACHING ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL

Dward A. Moore, Jr.
Special Editor

This section of the* Quarterly *is devoted to an exchange of ideas on the teaching of anthropology. Course descriptions, philosophical statements, reactions, and comments are welcome. Persons with material to contribute are requested to send them to the editor, Jamestown Community College, Jamestown NY 14701.

[Ed. Note: Educational philosophies and methods of teaching continue to be individualistic, as they should. In his article below, Gary Ferraro discusses how he has restructured the traditional lecture course to involve his students more through the use of small groups. He relates a number of benefits resulting from this type of student participation. A brief look at the aesthetic realism of Eli Siegel is presented by Arnold Perey. The principles of aesthetic realism present a more positive view of the world for both student and instructor.]

NEED THE ANTHROPOLOGY CLASS BE AN ARMED CAMP? THE USE OF SMALL GROUPS IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY CLASSROOM

Gary P. Ferraro
University of North Carolina–Charlotte

American higher education in general suffers from the "amphitheater syndrom," a condition initiated by the architects of educational buildings and perpetuated by most of us who teach in them. This little discussed syndrome is grounded in the physical features of the university classroom and has far-reaching implications for our educational philosophies and objectives. We start with a familiar feature of any American college or university campus–the large lecture hall. Despite certain stylistic variations, they are amazingly similar from campus to campus. They involve tiered rows of seats (complete with collapsible arms for writing) that are all bolted to the floor and facing the same direction so that all eyes are on the lectern, the blackboard, and the film screen. This particular type of physical layout is based on the assumption that education involves a uni-directional flow of information from the front of the room to the various tiered seats. In short, the amphitheater pre-supposes a lecture format.

This is not, however, to suggest that lecturing in anthropology classes is wrong but, rather, that it is incomplete. The lecture method of instruction has been for years a valuable yet limited device for imparting knowledge and developing certain useful skills in the student. Thus, lecturing in anthropology courses should not be eliminated but should be supplemented with other teaching strategies.

The exclusive, or even predominant, use of the lecture method in teaching anthropology carries with it the additional assumption that the overwhelming contribution the discipline of anthropology has to make lies in its content. The content of anthropology, to be sure, is important but education involves more than the mastery of a particular body of knowledge. We must proceed beyond content by providing an atmosphere in our classes where students can develop certain carry-over skills that transcend the narrow boundaries of anthropology or any other discipline. These skills include (1) effective oral communication; (2) the ability to analyze and evaluate critically; (3) the capacity to identify relationships between phenomena; and (4) the ability to use people as legitimate sources of information.

Such skills–which have a tendency to remain with a student long after the factual content is forgotten–are important because they can be applied to a variety of different occupations and life activities. In short, the mastery of anthropological content is a necessary but not sufficient component of the learning process.

In order to create an environment in which these skills can be developed, it is necessary to restructure the traditional lecture-dominated anthropology classrooms. Such traditional classes, caught up in the "amphitheater syndrom," generally emphasize content over process. What skill-development does occur in this setting is generally limited to listening and note-taking skills. Even though the traditional lecture approach brings the student, in a limited way, into contact with the instructor, this limited encounter is frequently a negative one, because few instructors are gifted lecturers.

Moreover, the lecture-oriented approach tends to foster, if only by default, an atmosphere of competition rather than cooperation. That is, students are matching their listening and note-taking capacities against one another in a struggle to see who can best understand what the lecturer is saying. Since the amphitheater forces students to face the lecturer—and in most cases the backs of other student's heads—there is little opportunity or expectation that students will communicate with one another. The atmosphere is frequently that of a poker game with all the players holding their cards tightly against their chests. "Good" students will feel that their "advantage" will be jeopardized if "medicore" students read their "superior" notes.

But the anthropology class need not be an armed camp in which students are at war with one another. Indeed, a cooperative, sharing atmosphere is at least as effective, and in some cases more effective, in meeting one's educational objectives as is a competitive atmosphere. A particularly effective instructional technique I have used to varying degrees in undergraduate and graduate anthropology courses involves the use of small, cooperative, information-sharing groups.

Resource groups within the anthropology classroom are not formed in a random or *ad hoc* fashion but, rather, according to a well-defined set of principles grounded in empirical research (Thelen, 1967; Schmuck and Schmuck, 1971). First, groups should be built on the widest possible number of differences among group members rather than similarities, because people with widely divergent interests, values, and backgrounds will bring a variety of perspectives to the group. Second, since the efficiency of information-sharing groups is directly related to group cohesiveness and identity, it is imperative that groups remain intact for the duration of the class (i.e., semester or quarter). And third, the optimal range in group size is between eight and twelve. If a group is expected to function in a task-oriented manner over a relatively long period of time, less than eight group members will not provide a sufficient number of contrasting roles while more than twelve will cause role duplication.

The goal, then, of group-building in the classroom is to divide a large class into functioning resource groups based on the widest possible differences and in such a manner as to encourage group cohesiveness and identity. For purposes of illustrating the group formation process, let us assume that our class size is 32 students who will be divided into four groups of eight each. The process, which requires approximately 30 minutes to complete, can be described as follows:

1. All participants are asked to provide answers on a 5x8 card to a series of questions designed to elicit data regarding their interests, values, backgrounds and experiences. Although different instructors may want to construct their own questions, the ones that have been most helpful to me have been: (1) "If you had to spend a year in sub-Saharan Africa, would you choose to go as (a) a missionary, (b) a social scientist, or (c) a Peace Corps Volunteer?" (2) "Have you ever lived in a non-English speaking country? If so, for what period of time and in what capacity?" (3) "Can you hold a basic conversation with someone in a language other than English?" (4) "What is your major?" (5) "Have you spent most of your life as an (a) urbanite, (b) suburbanite, or (c) rural resident?"
2. Students are then instructed to fasten these 5x8 cards on their clothing in such a way as to be easily read by other students.
3. For the next six or seven minutes, all students are to circulate in a cocktail-party fashion, reading each other's responses but remaining absolutely silent.
4. At the end of this non-verbal phase, all participants are asked to select the person whose written responses are most *unlike* their own and form a pair. They are asked to select a person with whom they are not familiar, if possible.
5. Each person is given approximately five minutes to collect personal information on his or her pair partner.
6. Each pair, after brief consultation, will select another pair to form a quartet. These quartets will move to a neutral location. Each member of the quartet will introduce his or her original partner using the personal data collected earlier.
7. After all personal information is exchanged the quartet will caucus to determine which other quartet they would like to join. Invitations to join another quartet may be declined or accepted. If an invitation is declined, a quartet will invite another quartet until all quartets have been chosen.

Once sufficient time and effort has been taken to build efficient information-sharing groups, they are ready to begin dealing with the substance of anthropology. This group-building process will have produced a degree of group cohesiveness owing to (1) the exchange of personal information, (2) mutual decision-making, and (3) the group's acceptance of an invitation or having its invitation accepted.

Although there are a number of uses for small groups in the anthropology classroom (Clark and Ramsey, 1970; Olmstead, 1974; Whipple, 1970), I have used them in my own classes in three essential ways: brainstorming, providing feedback, and consensus seeking. Let us examine each of these uses in detail.

Brainstorming and information processing. The purpose of a brainstorming session is to (a) generate a large number of ideas or solutions to problems in a non-evaluative manner, and (b) stimulate individual divergent thinking and creative problem-solving skills. Groups are given a question to answer or a problem to solve, and group members in a spontaneous manner are to suggest possible answers and solution.

Each group is to select a secretary who will record every idea generated by the group. During the brainstorming phase, there is to be no criticism, evaluation, or interpretation of the ideas generated by the group. Bizarre ideas are not discouraged, for they may serve to stimulate more meaningful ones for other group members. And during this brainstorming phase, the emphasis is on quantity of ideas generated.

A specific example of a brainstorming exercise for introductory anthropology could be phrased as follows: "As part of our Bicentennial celebration, we want to construct a time capsule so that future generations will know something about American society in 1976. We are asked to place in this time capsule a limited number of material items that would best represent our total cultural configuration. Given finite limitations on space, what cultural items would you select to include in the capsule that would be most representative of American society?"

In an attempt to solve this problem, group members will identify in a spontaneous way material items from contemporary American culture that they would want included in the capsule. Each item is recorded by the group secretary. During this phase there is no explanation why the items were chosen and the items are neither criticized nor interpreted. After approximately fifteen minutes of this free association phase, the ban on criticism, analysis, and evaluation is lifted and group members are asked to identify those non-material aspects of American culture which can be inferred from the material items listed.

One of the advantages of this particular exercise is that it is almost totally non-threatening because it is nearly impossible to be wrong. To be sure, some items will be better choices than others but it is possible to justify the inclusion of nearly any material cultural item. The significance of this exercise is that it encourages students to think anthropologically—that is, to see interrelationships between material and non-material aspects of a culture.

The brainstorming technique with small groups teaches students to respect and build upon their own and others' creative capacities and encourages the open and experimental mind so important for effective problem-solving. Moreover, brainstorming substantially increases a student's active involvement in his or her own learning.

After the groups have had sufficient time to analyze the material cultural items for their non-material implications, the instructor will ask all students to return to one large group. The recorders, serving as their group's spokespersons, will take turns sharing with the whole class their best ideas. It has been my experience that undergraduates are considerably more willing to participate in a large class discussion if they have had an opportunity beforehand to test out their ideas in their small groups. In other words, the relatively supportive and non-threatening nature of the small group environment frequently serves to encourage students to risk sharing their ideas in a larger, less intimate environment.

Providing feedback. Small groups can be used effectively for providing constructive criticism for project proposals in those upper-division undergraduate courses and graduate courses where projects are required. Approximately midway through the semester, each student is required to develop a several-page individual project proposal, complete with preliminary bibliography. Normally in a more traditionally structured anthropology class, such proposals would be submitted for the instructor's perusal and criticism. Although students submit a copy of their proposal to the instructor for comments and suggestions, they also can benefit from the feedback of the seven other members of their small groups because they each read their proposals to the group. The single rule that applies to this feedback process is that responding group members must phrase their responses in the form of a question (e.g., "Have you considered limiting the scope of the topic in such and such a way," or "Have you consulted Parkin's monograph on Kampala?"). The purpose of this regulation is to provide, in a non-threatening way, suggestions that will enable the student to both more clearly define the project area and more effectively carry out the project. The use of the small groups as feedback mechanisms has the dual advantage of (a) providing a broader base of criticism than would normally be expected from the instructor alone, and (b) providing all students with an opportunity for further developing their critical analysis skills.

Seeking consensus. Students in small groups can become involved in anthropological content by working on consensus exercises. The purpose of these consensus exercises is to demonstrate the efficacy of information-sharing groups by comparing the results of individual decision-making with the results of group decision-making. Such a demonstration can be made in examinations on anthropological content. Traditional one hour exams as a means of student evaluation are as applicable to the small groups technique as they are to the more traditional lecture-oriented classroom. On several occasions during a semester, pencil-and-paper exams (composed of multiple choice items, true-false items, and more subjective identification questions) are given to all students. During the class immediately after the exam, students take the very same exam again but this time within their small groups. A class member's grade on the exam will be some type of average of the individual score and the group score. In my own classes, individual exams are worth 75% and groups exams are worth 25%.

There are certain ground rules governing group examinations or other consensus-seeking exercises: (1) members should avoid arguing with one another in order to "win" as individuals; (2) conflicting answers and rationales should be viewed as helping rather than hindering the process of consensus; (3) the efficiency of the consensus exercise will be maximized if group members accept responsibility for both hearing and being heard, so that everyone in the group is included in the decision-making process; and (4) groups should avoid "conflict reducing" techniques such as majority vote, averaging, or trading in order to reach consensus.

There are at least two benefits to be derived from this type of consensus exercise, one substantial and one procedural. First, in terms of the substance of anthropology, students become highly involved in the course content (i.e., test items) if for no other reason than to improve their grade. But in the process of determing the correct answers, a wide variety of reasons justifying the answers will emerge from the groups; as a result, all students will be exposed to both anthropological data as well as anthropological thought processes. The second benefit derived from this type of consensus exercise involves gaining an appreciation of the efficacy of group decision making. In three years of using these group exams, *every* student's group score has been higher than the individual score. Thus, the student should leave this experience with the significant yet little understood insight that cooperating, information-sharing groups, when functioning properly, can more efficiently solve problems and answer questions than can any of its members operating independently.

The incorporation to some degree of small groups into the anthropology classroom can be justified on several grounds. First, in terms of our roles as general educators in a liberal arts tradition, the increasing scale and complexity of social life today places a premium on relating well to others and working effectively in groups. If some of the pressing social problems of the world are to be solved, young adults must learn to deal with interpersonal tensions and conflicts constructively and creatively. Thus, in addition to and concurrent with the teaching of anthropological content, we should be concerned with the development of skills of interpersonal relationships.

But in addition to our societal responsibility as general educators, I submit that the use of small groups can facilitate the learning of anthropological content and develop a positive attitude in students toward that course content for use in the future. The use of small groups in the anthropology class is valuable because it actively involves students in their own education. Knowledge is not a commodity that can be crammed into a student's head but is a psychic state, for as Harold Taylor (1969) reminds us:

> *Until the one who seeks it acts within his own consciousness and makes an idea or a fact or an experience part of his own psychic development, he has not gained knowledge.*

The small groups that we have described are constructed in such a way as to produce cooperation, assistance, support, encouragement, respect, and constructive criticism—a social climate conducive to gradual risk-taking and academic success. It would seem reasonable to expect that a positive, supportive social climate would both enhance a student's self-esteem as well as increase the possibilities of personal and academic growth due to a greater willingness to take intellectual risks.

Moreover, if we assume some positive correlation between self-esteem and academic performance, the dispersion of influence characteristic of well-functioning small groups would seem to foster feelings of self-esteem and personal competence. That is, leadership functions and influence in small groups are so well distributed that all group members can feel power, competence, and self-worth in accomplishing tasks and working together.

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THE AESTHETIC REALISM OF ELI SIEGEL AS A TEACHING METHOD IN ANTHROPOLOGY

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"Aesthetic Realism" is the new philosophy of education founded in 1941 by Eli Siegel, American critic and poet. It is exceedingly comprehensive because its purpose is to make it possible for people to like the world on an educated basis: that is, on honest terms. Since I have been studying aesthetic realism since fall 1968, I have come to like the world far more than I knew was possible. In my teaching of anthropology, I use the aesthetic realism method so that my students can use anthropology to like the world. There is no subject that cannot be taught from this point of view.

The principles of aesthetic realism are true about anthropology. I do not believe it is possible to understand humanity adequately without understanding the import of these four statements by Eli Siegel: (1) Every person is always trying to put together opposites in himself. (2) Every person in order to respect himself has to see the world as beautiful or good or acceptable. (3) There is a disposition in every person to think he will be for himself by making less of the outside world. (4) All beauty is a making one of opposites, and the making one of opposites is what we are going after in ourselves.

My opinion of aesthetic realism is sustained by very careful observation of myself and people I teach both in college and in aesthetic realism consultations, seminars, and workshops. It is also sustained by my anthropological research in New Guinea.

Anthropology, the study of mankind, should include the study of oneself but it does not, so anthropologists may know a great deal about the Paiute Indians and very little about themselves. That was the situation I found myself in when I first encountered aesthetic realism in 1968. Through what I have learned, anthropology has taken on a new dimension for me.

As Eli Siegel has explained in aesthetic realism classes, how true the opposites are in terms of explanation, beauty and precept is a question of knowledge. We can look at all fields anew as we consider this question, but will begin with cultural anthropology.

Consider natives of Oksapmin, New Guinea, where I conducted field research in 1967. How true are the opposites as explanation? Like myself, and yourselves, they are trying to like the world. At the same time, the world—the environment—is resistant and they have to work hard and people aren't too helpful. Do they have two opposite attitudes to the world—that it has been kind to them and the gods have been good, and also that it has rooked them? Have they hundreds of possibilities of being pleased and angry? There are central questions in anthropology as to warfare, religion, art, mythology, dance, and kinship that can be explained clearly and taught through the opposites. "The basic questions of anthropology," Eli Siegel explained in a lecture on anthropology in 1969, "have to do with the possibilities of human beings being angry and being pleased, feeling one is just and one is guilty, being at rest and being in motion, being bored and being interested." These are opposites. Through study, it can be seen how people in all cultures are trying to put them together; as one sees this, an unexpected beauty in anthropology comes forth.

For example, in a recent class I taught on American Indian culture, a question was raised about the structure of tribal government. I was asked what are war chiefs and peace chiefs. I asked students whether they felt more important getting along with people or fighting with them—for instance, their parents. The human mind has a debate whether to declare war on the world or get along, and the Indians had this debate. Pugnacious war chiefs, equivalent to the Pentagon, would debate with quieter civilian chiefs, giving outward form to opposites in oneself. When explained this way, it is not forgotten. It rings true.

Two questions raised in prefaces to introductory anthropology texts but not dealt with adequately, I feel, are answered by the Siegel Theory of Opposites. They are (a) How can knowledge of yourself help you to understand the Indian—or any culture—better? and (b) How can knowledge about the Indian increase your self-knowledge—or knowledge of any culture increase it? One example in terms of war and peace has been cited. Another example, in terms of feeling one is just and one is guilty, can be found in *Patterns of Culture* by Ruth Benedict (1934). She writes:

> *Among the Zuni Pueblo Indians of New Mexico a person who has taken a life must isolate himself for four days from ordinary life, neither speak nor be spoken to, abstain from food, sit without movement . . . "to take off the bad happening."*

I tried to teach *Patterns of Culture* without aesthetic realism and I lost the class. It was too abstract and hard to understand, I was told. But when I broke up reading passages by asking students questions about themselves, there was good response and even, as I will say more about, greater mental health in the long run. Some questions were: Did the Zuni Indian have a triumph and then feel bad? Have you ever gotten pleasure you were not proud of later? Did you ever go off alone for a time? or lose your appetite? or not want to move for some time? I explain that, as Eli Siegel writes in the second of the four statements of aesthetic realism (1960), if we have a triumph from despising the world, we will not think well of ourselves. This is not grasped immediately but it is thought about, and there are results when a teacher can apply the principle with some consistency. One of the most affecting things written to me, resulting from this, was a Vietnam War veteran's note:

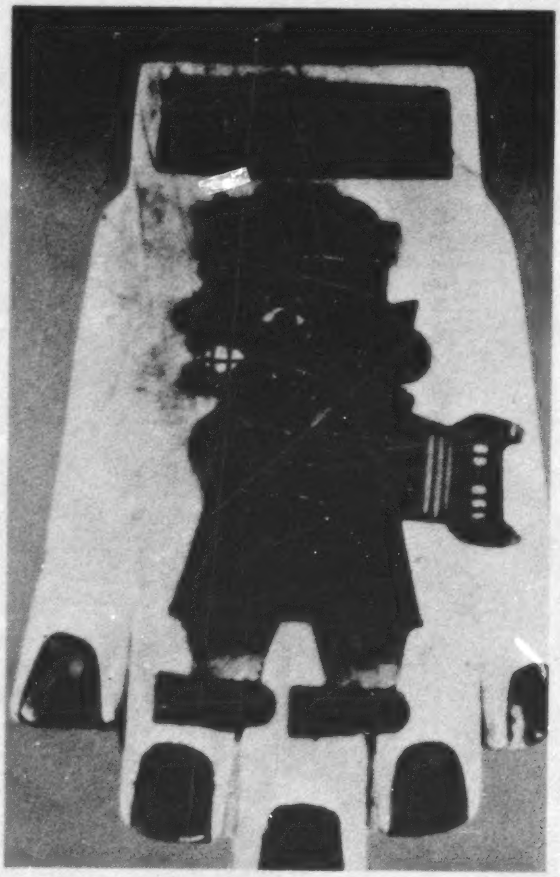
> *In your course I thought I would learn all anthropology but I was surprised that I learned things about myself. I thought I was encased in a hard shell after doing and seeing various things in my short life but I was wrong. You made me think and I re-evaluated my whole attitude and I might start liking and maybe even trusting people again.*

One of the things I taught this young man was that I have been learning in my study of an early question Eli Siegel asked in his 1923 essay, "The Equality of Man": How should people see each other?

This question has to be answered when we study race. I began to notice most textbooks accentuate differences among human beings in a way that makes them somewhat gross: nose width, hair texture, thickness of lips, and the like. I saw nothing wrong in this until I began to understand "sameness" more deeply. The following questions arise from what I learned from aesthetic realism; I believe they help answer more deeply than before the question, "How should people see each other?" (1) Do you feel you are more like other people or more different from them? (2) When you meet a person of another color, what do you notice first—their difference from you or their likeness? (3) Do you have contempt for what is different from you? (4) Can you learn more from a person who is different from you or a person who is just like you? (5) Does the way keys and locks are different help them work?

The purpose of these questions is to make conscious a process I have found explained nowhere in the literature on prejudice. It is the process of contempt, delineated by Eli Siegel in the third of his four statements: "There is a disposition in every person to think he will be for himself by making less of the outside world." Any fear of the unfriendly world will likely turn into contempt, and a person of another nationality can be the target. The only alternative is to see that even much different people have the deepest thing in common: the desire to like the world. And in order to like the world, people want to make one of contrary drives in themselves. Art shows this most clearly.

Showing slides and explaining the opposites in mythology, too, makes sameness clear. Consider the pendant shown of a Bolivian war captive: it is made of shell inlaid with turquoise and gold. This pendant illustrates the aesthetic realism principle that "all beauty is a making one of opposites, and the making one of opposites is what we are going after in ourselves." The pendant has energetic color, and it is orderly. The figure is angry. His teeth are bared in a growl and he has the hot color red on him. Yet his hands are tied behind him with blue cord—blue is a cold color. As his hands are behind, his feet are walking ahead. Every person, of whatever culture, wants to be energetic yet orderly, passionate yet controlled.



To see oneself in another is what all responsible people want when they want to eliminate hatred and prejudice. A student wrote, "When viewing or studying other cultures, all I ever noticed was how different they were. This resulted in a bit of contempt for the unfamiliar. I no longer feel this way." Contempt for the unfamiliar will not leave so fast, but something was accomplished.

My concluding example in the field of linguistics also points to human universals. I chose phonetics because it is a subject which I found quite boring when I learned it. And it took about two years before I began to have lively classes in teaching it. Aesthetic realism says that every sound has the structure of the world in it, whatever culture it comes from. This, when understood, makes the sound profoundly interesting and entertaining. All the philosophic reasons why this is so cannot be gone into here, but the fundamental reason is in Eli Siegel's sentence which has the basis of aesthetic realism in it: "The world, art, and self explain each other: each is the aesthetic oneness of opposites." If sounds have an aesthetic basis, why can't they excite a class the way music does? Well, they can. Take the two classes of consonants—stops and continuants. They are opposites corresponding to rest and motion. A prominent stop is "p" and a prominent continuant is "m." They are opposites.

If you say "puh" to a person telling you about some witty remark, that's disapproval. If you say "mmmm," that's approval, the opposite. The "p" is prominent in many contempt words, including poo, puke, pish. In the Trobriand Islands of the South Pacific, "popu" is insulting. While "mmm" approves, the second nasal continuant disapproves or negates: "nnnn" as in no, never. Again, living opposite emotions are in the sound itself.

After the bi-labials and the "n," the consonants go deeper in the mouth one by one—t, d, k, g—until they go deepest of all, the "h": "hhh." The "h" sound, so deep, coming from the center of the body, is the sound that begins the word "heart" and the word "hope."

I believe that the unconscious has made choices so that, as Alexander Pope said of poetry, "the sound must seem an echo to the sense." These are poetic choices, and every student can perceive them and be excited by them. The more I learn about poetry and care for poetic music, the better I teach phonetics. It surprises students and myself to see how sounds in many languages correspond to feelings and word-pictures in oneself.

Perhaps a good conclusion would be lines of English poetry showing what sound can do. First is a picture of the world as caressing, with m's and b's that approve, in Tennyson's "Come Down, O Maid," from *The Princess:*

. . . sweet is every sound . . .
The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees.

The second is a picture by Matthew Arnold of a desolate world, expressed with contemptuous, expulsive, well-placed "p" sounds, a world having

. . . neither joy . . .
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain.

The world's opposites and the self's opposites are in sounds, aesthetic realism shows, and so there is large emotion in them.

The greatness of Eli Siegel as educator is apparent in the diversity of subjects aesthetic realism is true about, for the structure of the world is in all subject matter.

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PROFESSIONAL NEWS

CONVENTION ACTIVITIES

The following is a list of CAE activities at the American Anthropological Association's Annual Meetings, Thursday, 18 November, through Saturday, 20 November 1976, at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington DC.

Committee 1: Anthropological Studies of Schools and Culture: Thursday, 8-10 am, Room C.

Committee 2: Cognitive and Linguistic Studies: Thursday, 10-12 am, Room C.

Committee 3: Anthropological Resources and Teaching: Friday, 2-4 pm, Room C.

Committee 5: Transnational Issues in Education and Change: Thursday, 8-10 am, Grant Room.

Committee 7: Blacks in Education: Thursday, 2-4 pm, Room C.

Committee 8: Spanish-speaking Concerns in Education: Thursday, 2-4 pm, Grant Room.

Committee 9: Women in Schools and Society: Friday, 8-10 am, Room C.

Committee 10: Population Issues in Anthropology and Education: Thursday, 10-12 am, Grant Room.

Ad Hoc Committee: Employment of Anthropologists in Non-academic Settings: Friday, 5-7 pm, Jefferson West Room.

Ad Hoc Committee: Committee on Evaluation of Educational Settings: Friday, 10-12 am, Grant Room.

General Meeting: Saturday, 5-7 pm, Jefferson West Room.

No Host Cocktail Hour: Saturday, 7-8 pm, Jefferson East Room.

Pre-College and Junior College Curriculum Resources Workshop: Saturday, 9:30 am-12 pm, Room C.

Board of Directors Meeting I: Wednesday, 4-7 pm, Grant Room.

Board of Directors Meeting II: Sunday, 9-12 am, Grant Room.

Roundtable Luncheon: Saturday, 12-2 pm, Thoroughbred Room.

The Anthropology of Education: Evolution of an Area of Inquiry: Sunday, 11:30 am-1:30 pm, International West Room.

Ethnographic Approaches to Evaluating Schools: Thursday, 12-2 pm, Room C.

The Scope and Limits of Education in Producing Development in the Third World: Friday, 12-2 pm, Room C.

Biculturalism: Efforts and Prospects for the Spanish-speaking in the U.S.: Sunday, 5-7 pm, Georgetown West Room.

Population Issues in Anthropology and Education: A Discussion of the Economic and Demographic Perspective: Sunday, 5-7 pm, Hemisphere Room.

Community Development and Education: Education for What? Thursday, 5-7 pm, Room C.

The Teaching of Anthropology: Friday, 11:30 am-1:30 pm, Map Room.

There was a small error on p. 48 of the last issue of the *Quarterly*, an error in the announcement of CAE sponsored activities at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington DC, November 17-21. Those CAE sessions listed as "Roundtable Luncheon" topics were actually "Informal Discussion Sessions," which will be separate sessions scheduled at different times during the five days of the AAA annual meeting. (The AAA annual meeting program should be consulted for specific times.) In each informal discussion session, a few presenters will make opening statements and then engage in dialogue with the audience. We are fortunate to have some very distinguished participants involved in these sessions this year.

There will also be a Roundtable Luncheon sponsored by CAE on Saturday, November 22. Attendance is by subscription and a seat at the table of one's choice can be reserved on the AAA advance registration form available from *Annual Meeting*, American Anthropological Association, 1703 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington DC 20009. The table topics and hosts for this year are: (1) Peggy Reeves Sanday, "Quantitative Approaches in the Anthropological Study of Education," (2) John Herzog, "The Relevance of Primate Studies for Understanding Education," (3) St. Clair Drake, "Ethnographic Perspectives on Reassessment of Recurring Problems in Urban Education," (4) Estelle Fuchs, "The First Year of Teaching as a Rite of Passage," (5) Dell Hymes, "The Speech Community and the School: Ways of Monitoring Ways of Speaking," (6) Paul Wrobel, "Studying Urban Ethnic Communities and Schooling," (7) Henry Torres-Trueba, "Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and Education," (8) Frederick Erickson, "The Anthropology of Everyday Life and Studies of Classrooms," (9) Robert Textor, "Development Education and Social Change," (10) Alan Howard, "World Population Issues in Education," (11) Henry Burger, "The Application of the Theory of Cultural Materialism to Learning."

ERIC ISSUES

Issues of the *Quarterly* are now being placed in the ERIC CHESS collection located at 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

HARRY MAURICE LINDQUIST
1940-1975

After her first days at the University of Kansas, Rosalie H. Wax reported the presence in her graduate seminar of a young man who was unusual in both intelligence and industry. As a term paper for her course, he was going to research American literature to describe how Americans had regarded China during the early part of this century, and then he was going to research the Chinese literature to describe how Chinese had then regarded the U.S. Naturally, I was eager to meet such a talented student. Shortly thereafter, Rosalie and I were invited to dinner by Harry and Yen-lu Wong, a dancer and student of theatre, who was then his wife. Our relationship to Harry and Yen-lu developed from that of teachers to that of older friends; both were brilliant, responsive, and extraordinarily talented young persons.

Harry had moved from an interest in Far Eastern History to Anthropology. He became one of the first PhD's in Anthropology from the University of Kansas, working primarily with Felix Moos but with additional guidance from Rosalie and myself. After completing the dissertation, he received a post-doctoral fellowship from the U.S. Public Health Service (NIMH) for a project to study schools in Taiwan. In good participant-observer fashion, he became a teacher of English in a night school, and from that vantage investigated the backgrounds and attitudes of his students. A monograph was prepared from these materials but it never quite reached publishable form.

Harry's interest in anthropology and education continued and deepened. In relationship to the "culture of schools" project, Harry was commissioned to prepare a cross-cultural bibliography. This was published in *Anthropological Perspectives on Education* (1971). As a natural concomitant of this work, Harry prepared a reader, *Education: Readings in the Processes of Cultural Transmission* (1970), which contains a variety of unusual and intriguing materials. Its authors included not only anthropologists such as Martin C. Yang, Remi Clignet and Philip Foster, but also Julius K. Nyere, Chinua Achebe, Jan Myrdal, and Claude Brown. The reader also included case studies from Harry's own fieldwork in Taiwan.

Given these interests, it was natural for Harry to become active in the organizational life of the young Council on Anthropology and Education, and he became its first Secretary-Treasurer, a post which he occupied until the 1973 annual meeting.

Meanwhile, Harry continued his interest in Asia and prepared a concordance to the writings of Mao Tse-tung and a text, *China: Focus on Revolution* (1974), as well as oral presentations and book reviews. A complete bibliography of his writings accompanies the obituary prepared by William M. Bass for publication in the AAA *Anthropology Newsletter.*

Harry drove himself hard. In retrospect, it seems that his physical and psychological constitution could not endure the pressures he imposed. The death of such a promising scholar must grieve us all.

Murray L. Wax

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PUBLICATIONS

[Ed. Note: This section of the *Quarterly* has been revised in order to assist libraries and CAE members to develop a continuously updated bibliography in anthropology and education by means of annotated references which have *not* been included in the Burnett et al. *Anthropology and Education: Annotated Bibliographic Guide*, nor in previous issues of the CAE *Quarterly*. An additional section will list materials useful in teaching anthropology.]

Teaching Anthropology

Social Education, Vol. 33, No. 4, April 1969.
This volume of Social Education focuses on education and minority students. Two sections entitled "Black Americans and Social Studies," and "The Elementary School: Focus on Minority Groups" present several articles on specific aspects of minority education as well as theoretical discussions in this area. An extensive bibliography on Afro-American history and culture is also included.

Vogel, Vergil J. "The Indian in American History." 33:3 *Social Education* 200. February 1969.
Brief overview of a more extensive portrait of American Indian history prepared for teachers seeking information of the relevance of Indian culture to American life. Included in this article are discussions on contributions in the areas of literature, music and the arts, linguistic contributions, and political history. Instructions for obtaining the complete booklet are included.

Witthoft, John. *The American Indian as Hunter.* Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Box 1026, Harrisburg PA 17108, 1967.

Anthropological Study of Education

Williams, T. David. "Discrepancy Between Goal and Function in Educational Planning: The Guatemalan Experience." 13 *Comparative Education Review* 196, June 1969.
Examples of failure in educational planning form the basis of a discussion on the relevance of the socio-economic context to educational change. Such problems as social-class differences in educational opportunity and failure to meet manpower needs are attributed to belief in the independent nature of the ed[illegible]al institution and the failure to employ empirica[illegible]earch to clarify and evaluate policy proposals.

Wolcott, Harry F. *Ethnographic Approaches to Research in Education: A Bibliography on Method.* Anthropology Curriculum Project Publication 75-1, Univ. of Georgia, 1975.
The application of ethnographic methods to the study of education is the central topic of this extensive bibliography on ethnographic approaches in anthropological and educational research. Many of the publications are annotated.

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The Council on Anthropology and Education (CAE) is a professional association of anthropologists and educational researchers concerned with the application of anthropology to research and development in education. Organized in 1968 within the American Anthropological Association, but separately incorporated, the Council regularly meets at the annual meetings of the Association.

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